

CENSORED IN ISRAEL

Israel Shahak

ISRAEL'S GLOBAL ROLE

Weapons for Repression



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1982 Noam Chomsky



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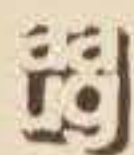
Israel Shahak

Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression

With an introduction by
Noam Chomsky

Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc.
Belmont, Massachusetts, 1982

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The Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc., was established in December 1967, incorporated as a non-profit educational and cultural organization in the state of Michigan in 1968 and obtained tax-exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service in 1970. The Association aims at promoting knowledge and understanding of cultural, scientific and educational matters between the Arab and American peoples. Membership is open to all college graduates who are U.S. citizens or permanent residents and who are of Arabic-speaking origin. Associate membership is open to U.S. citizens or permanent residents interested in furthering the aims of the AAUG.

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A NOTE FROM THE AAUG

In pursuance of its objective to disseminate accurate information about the Middle East, the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc. (AAUG) thought it in the public interest to publish this very timely study. At a time when the United States under the Reagan administration is reviving a Cold War policy that gives a central place to arms transfers and militarization, Professor Israel Shahak's essay, *Israel's Global Role: Weapons for Repression* carries an urgent message to the American public about the pernicious effects of such a policy.

President Reagan and Secretary of State Haig, as did their predecessors Brzezinski, Kissinger and Nixon, subscribe to the concept of intervention through "regional influentials." The containment of social change has now become the Administration's priority over all other matters, including, in the Middle East, a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Since the June 1967 War, Israel has been acting as America's major gendarme in the Middle East (along with the Shah of Iran until his fall from power). The Israeli victory in 1967 spared the U.S. the trouble of direct intervention to contain Nasserism. Presidents from Lyndon Johnson to Ronald Reagan acknowledged with gratitude Israel's sub-imperial role. "If there were no Israel with that force, we'd have to supply that with our own, so this isn't just altruism on our part," said Reagan, who firmly believes that Israel is a unique "strategic asset."

Professor Shahak's study delineates the Israeli role in supplying weapons and training to U.S. client regimes and surrogates around the globe, especially in Africa and Central America. It is based almost exclusively on Israeli sources, particularly the Hebrew press. A Hebrew version of Shahak's essay was published in five installments on March 25 and April 1, 9, 15, and 22, 1981 in *Zu Haderech*. A concluding note has been added by Professor Shahak for the English edition.

The difficulties of disseminating information on Israeli arms transfers is amply proven by the large number of censorship cuts in the essay, cuts originally made by the Israeli military censor prior to the publication in Hebrew. At the request of Professor Shahak, we have preserved these cuts, with the hope that other researchers will be able to explore these areas and publish their findings. We have added a number of appendices, both to

provide recent information and to illuminate areas, like the Israeli-South African nuclear relationship, that Professor Shahak could not address.

Professor Israel Shahak, in his painstaking research, his moral integrity, and his perceptive and pathbreaking writing, has long played a critical role in exposing human rights abuses by the Israeli authorities. For over a decade, Shahak, who is chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights and a professor of organic chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has been publishing *The Shahak Papers*, collections of key articles translated from the Hebrew press, with commentary, that have been seminal in delineating Israeli policies and practices towards Palestinian Arabs. His book, *Non-Jew in the Jewish State*, was a groundbreaking work in shattering the myth of the "benign" Israeli occupation and revealing the discriminatory structure of the Israeli state. With the publication of *Israel's Global Role*, Professor Shahak has once again made a major contribution to our understanding of Israeli policy, this time in the area of Israeli arms transfers, international relations, and the militarization of the Israeli state.

NASSEER H. ARURI
AAUG Publications Committee

INTRODUCTION

The Israeli military victory of 1967 should have called to mind a comment familiar in pacifist circles:

The problem after a war is with the victors. They think they have just proved that war and violence pay. Who will now teach them a lesson?

History provides many examples of the wisdom of the observation. A number of Israeli commentators have expressed similar sentiments in calling for a political settlement based on Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in 1967, among them, Professors Yeshayahu Leibowitz and Daniel Amit, who warned of the consequences that would ensue if Israel were to place its trust in military power, disregarding lessons that are as old as the Biblical prophets.

Fourteen years later, we can easily appreciate how appropriate this warning was. There is a formula that is ritually intoned in one variant or another by the American apologists for Israeli power who call themselves "supporters of Israel," but who might more aptly be described as "supporters of the degeneration and ultimate destruction of Israel": "Israel was willing to trade the territories for peace, but the Arabs will settle for nothing less than its destruction." The real world, however, is rather different from the one they describe. As has been shown in studies by Amnon Kapeliouk, Jon Kimche and others, there were opportunities for a peaceful settlement—and there still are—but they have never been seriously considered. In the wake of the 1967 victory, Israel moved, almost at once, to consolidate its hold over the occupied territories. Even proposals by Palestinian West Bank conservatives to form an anti-PLO organization were rejected by the Labor government, as was revealed by the military commander of the West Bank, General Haim Herzog, years after Israeli censorship had prevented the press from reporting this plan and his support for it.¹

The Labor government undertook a policy of expropriation and settlement, setting the stage for the 1973 war, in particular with its settlement program in northeast Sinai. In 1971 Sadat's proposal for what

the Government of Israel recognized to be a genuine "peace agreement" was rejected, although the Egyptian President was offering Israel "better terms" than those he put forward during the subsequent trip to Jerusalem in 1977 that was regarded as such a dramatic breakthrough, since there was no mention of the Palestinian issue that Israel now claims to be the main stumbling block barring a settlement. I place the phrase "better terms" in quotes, since it is hardly clear that Israel's security and well-being can rest on the permanent denial of Palestinian national rights, quite apart from the moral level of such a stand. The basic reason for the Israeli rejection of Sadat's 1971 proposal was explained by General Haim Bar-Lev, regarded as a Labor dove:

I think that we could obtain a peace settlement on the basis of the earlier (pre-June 1967) borders (in accordance with Sadat's proposal). If I were persuaded that this is the maximum that we might obtain, I would say: agreed. But I think it is not the maximum. I think that if we continue to hold out, we will obtain more.²

Many subsequent opportunities were also evaded or dismissed, notably the 1976 UN initiative calling for a two-state settlement, which was supported by the Arab states and the PLO and vetoed by the United States. Whenever one of these periodic proposals is put forth, it evokes profound commentary on the significance of this "first indication" by the Arab states or the PLO of their possible willingness to come to terms with Israel (though of course the proposals are unacceptable, and must be rejected out of hand for this or that reason). The most recent reenactment of this farce came in the summer of 1981, in connection with the eight-point Saudi proposal that reiterated in less explicit terms the basic thrust of the vetoed 1976 initiative.

Meanwhile Israel moved to integrate the occupied territories, taking over land and water resources and becoming increasingly reliant on a cheap and unorganized labor force, including child labor, a scandal repeatedly denounced in Israel but never mentioned in the United States. In these policies, Israel was continually abetted by the United States government, which accepts Israel's thesis that Israeli power is a "strategic asset." And likewise these policies were defended by American "supporters of Israel" who, as Israeli general (res.) and peace activist Mattityahu Peled observed, in fact support the most reactionary policies within Israel in a "state of near hysteria" and with "blindly chauvinistic and narrow-minded" attitudes that pose "the danger of prodding Israel once more toward a posture of calloused intransigence."³

It was inevitable that a system of unending military confrontation would result, and that Israel would become increasingly isolated, as most of the

world, outside of the United States, refused to accept the occupation as permanent. Israel has developed towards a militarized society devoting its resources to military production, surviving on a huge American dole, with a corresponding and quite predictable deterioration in its moral integrity. The latter situation was dramatically illustrated by the abusiveness and violence of the June 1981 election campaign of the victorious Likud bloc, graphically portrayed in the Israeli press, which evoked memories of Germany in the early 1930s among mainstream Israeli observers. Some went so far as to predict that "If the (Labor) Alignment returns to the government, a civil war is possible" (Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Yadin, quoted by Dan Horowitz in *Yediot Ahronot*).⁴

One crucial aspect of these developments is surveyed by Israel Shahak in the grim study that follows. As he documents, Israel has inevitably become the ally of some of 'the most repressive regimes of the world.' There can be no alternative, as long as the occupation persists, as long as Israel seeks "security" through strength and violence rather than through political accommodation.

The latter course has always been a possibility, contrary to the pretense of many Israelis and their "supporters" in the United States, whose standard line has been that Israel's dangerous international isolation results from "skillful manipulation of oil" along with that "sour apothegm: *In the warmest of hearts there's a cold spot for the Jews*" (Irving Howe). Given these assumptions, it is unnecessary to consider the significance and implications of Israel's policies or U.S. support for them. The world's unshakeable and ineradicable anti-Semitism is considered too self-evident to require demonstration. As for "oil politics," we are regularly regaled with tales of how Europe and the African states succumbed to Arab pressures after 1973, abandoning helpless little Israel to its fate. The world "has grown sick of the ideals Israel asks it to respect," Saul Bellow laments. "If the world fails to rise to the moral test of preserving (Israel's) safety, it will mean the end of our civilization,"⁵ although the "safety" of the Palestinians counts for nothing, for reasons unexplained. The dogma is quite resistant to fact. Consider, for example, the fact that, as Jon Kimche points out, such a good friend of Israel as President Leopold Senghor of Senegal "charged that the Israelis had either bamboozled him or had gone back on their word" in 1971—two years before the Arab states resorted to oil politics—by adopting a position at the UN that "was in direct conflict" with the settlement terms proposed by an African mediation team he headed and which Israel had claimed to be happy to accept, with "no annexation of Arab territory." This "double-talk" was a major factor in creating what Howe calls "a cold spot for the Jews" in some of the "warmest of hearts," particularly when coupled with facts about the allegedly "enlightened" occupation, which has "warmed the hearts" of

American apologists for Israeli power who have buried their heads in the sand while the rest of the world observes what is actually happening with considerable dismay. There has indeed been a "cold spot" in the hearts of American supporters of Israel for the Arabs who suffer regular degradation and oppression under the increasingly brutal military regime in the occupied territories, along with the degradations of the religious settlers who conduct their harassment and atrocities, generally with impunity, under the cover of the military occupation. This is not the place to review the gloomy record, largely unknown to Americans.

American "supporters of Israel" complain, sometimes with justice, that the dismay over the harshness of the military occupation is feigned, that those who express it ignore comparable or worse oppression elsewhere. One may say the same about the denunciations of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan by those who timidly objected to the U.S. invasion of South Vietnam (although the term "invasion" would never pass their lips in this case), describing it at worst as an "error" or perhaps even as a "noble cause," in President Reagan's words. One recalls the Stalinist plea: "What about the lynchings in the South?" Shahak observes that the attitudes of apologists for Israel abroad are reminiscent of Stalinism years earlier, or, we may add, the "critical support" of many Trotskyites. His comment is, unfortunately, all too apt, a fact that deserves a detailed study in itself.

It is particularly remarkable that *American* "supporters of Israel" should complain that "in the warmest of hearts there's a cold spot for the Jews." Israel has been the beneficiary of unparalleled U.S. aid since its founding. Nadav Safran estimates that capital transfers to Israel from abroad constitute virtually the whole of Israeli investment since the founding of the state.⁶ A substantial part of this unique contribution comes from the American taxpayer, either directly, or indirectly through the tax privilege accorded to American donors to Israel through Jewish charities. The opportunity to make tax-free donations to the "national institutions" of another state (which in this case means the Jewish institutions of a state with a 15% non-Jewish minority) is rather unusual, to say the least. Israel has also been uniquely privileged as a recipient of U.S. diplomatic support, while the U.S. recognizes no moral commitment to the Palestinians and refuses to have any dealings with the PLO on the transparently fraudulent grounds that the PLO does not recognize Israel. If the argument had any weight, the United States would refuse to have relations with Israel on the grounds that it does not recognize the PLO, which has approximately the same status among the Palestinians that the Zionist Organization had among the Jews in 1947, and no less a right to be recognized as the representative of a nation seeking a homeland, in this case, one from which it had recently been displaced.

Furthermore, anti-Arab—in particular, anti-Palestinian—racism has

reached quite a startling level in the United States. One might say, without exaggeration, that this is the last legitimate form of racism, and therefore passes quite unnoticed. The Arab (generally Palestinian) villain is a stock feature of film and television fare, often contrasted with the heroic Israeli freedom fighter in a parody of Wild West portrayals of cowboys and Indians in earlier days, when this form of egregious racism was still regarded as acceptable, or more accurately, was simply unnoticed. Television “documentaries” on Middle East terrorism consciously and knowingly suppress evidence on Israeli atrocities, while portraying Palestinians as murderous fanatics who love to kill women and children and who—in the ultimate atrocity—are forcing Israel to resort to violence in self-defense. Racist caricatures of “Arab sheiks” regularly disgrace the mass media when Venezuela or Iran under the Shah press for oil price increases (the fact that Britain charges higher prices for its oil than the “Arab sheiks” who are bent on destroying Western civilization goes unmentioned). If Jews were to be portrayed in the manner adopted for Arabs, we would not hesitate to speak of a revival of the Nazi era. It is remarkable that in these circumstances, American “supporters of Israel” attribute Israel’s travail to global anti-Semitism—or perhaps the United States is uniquely spared this affliction.

A revival of anti-Semitic sentiments that have been dormant for many years is, to be sure, not an impossibility in the United States. It might accompany a shift of U.S. policy in the Middle East away from “support for Israel,” combined perhaps with an exposure of the reality of Israel’s treatment of Arabs (whether citizens of the state, or under military occupation, or in neighboring countries). But to attribute Israel’s current problems to anti-Semitism is to blind oneself to political realities. And while “oil politics” can surely not be discounted, it cannot reasonably be invoked to absolve Israel and its “supporters” of the consequences of their actions, among them, the increasing isolation of Israel.

Might U.S. policy change with regard to Israel? Scholars and others commonly maintain that U.S. support for Israel is based on a “moral commitment,” but this is nonsense. Great powers do not act out of “moral commitment,” however they may disguise their policies with noble rhetoric. Over the years, U.S. support for Israel has tended to reflect the U.S. estimate of Israel’s strength, or more specifically, Israel’s utility for furthering American foreign policy goals. For example, when Israel invaded Egypt in 1956 (an attack that is generally described in the United States as one of the many Arab wars against the Jews, proving that the Arab world is committed to the destruction of Israel), President Eisenhower quickly ordered Israel to withdraw—immediately before a presidential election, when concern for the “Jewish vote” is at its height. But the attitude of the United States was rather different when Israel

conquered the Sinai once again in 1967. The distinction had nothing to do with moral commitments; rather, it reflected Israel's choices of allies: in 1956, England and France, which were still operating under the illusion that they had a role to play in regulating the affairs of the Middle East; in 1967, the United States itself. From the late 1950's, the United States regarded Israel as a barrier to radical nationalist (Nasserite) pressures against the oil-producing monarchies that represent the U.S.'s real interest in the Middle East. Israel's 1967 victory was perceived as solidifying U.S. dominance over the region. In 1970, when Israeli moves deflected a Syrian intervention in Jordan to support the Palestinians, an intervention regarded in the U.S. as a potential threat to the Gulf monarchies, the United States responded by vastly increasing aid to Israel in gratitude for this service, undertaken at a moment when direct U.S. intervention was impossible because of prevailing domestic and international circumstances. In contrast, the Israeli bombing of Beirut in July 1981 elicited considerable government and press criticism, not so much because Israel was killing civilians—as it had often done in Lebanon in the past—but because Begin's latest atrocities threatened to disrupt American diplomacy in the Middle East: at that point, the efforts of the Reagan Administration to submerge the Arab-Israeli dispute in an anti-Soviet coalition of the major states in the region. If the U.S. government determines that its interests will be served by diminishing its support for Israel, it will do so, irrespective of alleged "moral commitments" or domestic pressure groups (which will rapidly fade from the scene).

Israel's alliances with Latin American dictatorships, South Africa, and other terror-and-torture states have generally served U.S. interests. While the United States did not openly advocate the flow of Israeli arms to Somoza in Nicaragua, it is difficult to believe that it was displeased. The Carter Administration supported Somoza virtually until the end of his bloody rule, even after the natural U.S. allies—the local business community—had turned against him. Congressional legislation imposed barriers to direct military aid to this murderous and corrupt tyrant, who owed his power to the U.S. Marines and unstinting U.S. support for many decades. The vast destruction caused by the supply of armaments to Somoza was also a net gain for American policy, since it imposed an enormous and perhaps insuperable burden on the new Sandinista regime, diminishing the likelihood of the dreaded "domino effect" of successful development independent of U.S. domination. In the light of Israel's unprecedented dependence on the United States and the close links between Israeli and U.S. armaments industries, it is difficult to believe that the arms flow could not have been stopped, had the U.S. government desired this outcome. Similarly, it surpasses belief that the United States government or the major media are unable to detect the supply of arms

from Israel to Central American dictatorships (just as they professed to be unable to detect the shipments of oil by U.S. companies to France in the late 1930s, though this was reported at the time by the left-wing press and quietly conceded years later); the United States has no difficulty in detecting the dispatch of arms from Cuba (or Ethiopia, or Vietnam) to peasants attempting to defend themselves from U.S.-backed murderers—even when these arms may well not exist.

Much the same is true in many other cases, among them, Israel's assistance in extending U.S. influence in Black Africa in the 1960's, with a substantial CIA subsidy; among the products of these cooperative ventures were Mobutu in Zaire, Bokassa in the Central African Republic and Idi Amin in Uganda. In at least one case, Israel served as a direct conduit for American arms: namely to Indonesia when it needed military aircraft for the massacre of Timorese in the late 1970s (*Washington Post*, October 5, 1979). In general, it is to be expected that a shift in U.S. policies and priorities will bring about a change in the relation to Israel.

As the example of Somoza's Nicaragua or the Shah's Iran indicates, Israel is playing a dangerous game in relying on pariah states as its allies, quite apart from the moral level of providing arms for Pinochet, supporting Bokassa, welcoming South African Prime Minister John Vorster (who was interned by the British as a Nazi) on a state visit where he was duly taken to the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial—and incidentally, signed “a row of economic and military collaboration agreements that centered on South Africa's willingness to finance some of Israel's costlier military projects” while “Israel was to reciprocate by supplying weapon systems and training” (*Economist*, Nov. 5, 1977)—backing the virulently anti-Semitic and murderous Argentine regime (in collaboration with the Soviet Union, in this case), and so on. In the long run—perhaps not so long—Israel will pay dearly for these alliances.

Israel's international role, which is described in this study, as well as the internal deterioration of Israeli society, will persist as long as Israel insists on maintaining the occupation of the territories conquered in 1967. That appears to be as near to certainty as anything in international affairs can be. There are and have always been possible alternatives, but as long as neither of the major political groupings in Israel is willing to consider them, and as long as the United States, for its own reasons, continues to welcome an Israeli Sparta in the Middle East, such possibilities will not be seriously explored. There are no easy answers to Israel's dilemmas; that is clear enough. But the path that has been chosen since 1967, whatever extenuating circumstances may be adduced, is one that is fraught with disaster for all concerned. And given the level of armaments in the region, and the explosive potential of conflict near the world's major supplies of

relatively cheap and abundant energy, the circle of those concerned may be wide indeed.

—NOAM CHOMSKY
August 1981

FOOTNOTES

1. General Haim Herzog, *Emda* (Tel Aviv), December 1974.
2. *Ot*, March 9, 1972; cited by Amnon Kapeliouk, *Le Monde diplomatique*, October 1977. *Ot* is a journal of the Israeli Labor Party. General Bar-Lev was a cabinet member in the Golda Meir and Yitzhak Rabin governments.
3. Mattityahu Peled, "American Jewry: 'More Israeli than Israelis'," *New Outlook* (Tel Aviv), May-June 1975. Peled was reporting his impressions of a speaking tour in the United States. While he was referring specifically to the American Jewish community, his remarks apply much more generally to American intelligentsia, particularly left-liberal elements.
4. *Yediot Ahronot*, June 11, 1980.
5. Saul Bellow, *To Jerusalem and Back* (New York: Viking, 1976).
6. Nadav Safran, *Israel: The Embattled Ally* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978).

ISRAEL'S GLOBAL ROLE: WEAPONS FOR REPRESSION

by Israel Shahak

Perhaps because we are so immersed in our perpetual struggle here in Israel and the occupied territories, and in a wider sense, in our support of the progressive forces in the Middle East, we tend to forget that in recent years, the State of Israel has also assumed an additional task of great magnitude: to be an ally and arms supplier to the most contemptible and hated regimes in the world. We read in the *New York Times*, of March 15, 1981 for example, that Israel is the world's seventh largest arms exporter, with sales for 1980 totalling \$1.3 billion. Other sources, such as the Institute for Strategic Studies in London and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, have specified even greater sums, up to \$1.45 billion. Considering that in 1979, all of Israel's export revenues totaled only \$3.8 billion, we can estimate that in 1980 (for which we have no complete data as yet), arms sales accounted for at least 40% of Israel's export revenues. In other words, we live more and more on the death and destruction of others, the Palestinians here and many people elsewhere in the world. We should recognize that a large proportion, if not the entire "assistance" which we receive from the U.S. stems from these very circumstances. Let us begin, therefore, with a brief survey of current (or recent) allies to whom we supply large quantities of arms and other terms of assistance.

El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua

El Salvador, of course, is now a focus of world attention, and the brutal

murders carried out under the ruling junta, by both the army and the death squads maintained by the authorities, have had some publicity in the Israeli press, as well. Yet, according to data supplied by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, in 1980, the State of Israel supplied 83% of the arms imported by that murderous regime. The whole world (with our exception, of course), sees on television the Galil rifles and Uzi submachine guns carried by the murderers. In many countries, including Western Europe and sometimes even the U.S., the television commentators actually state that "These persons (or women, or children, or nuns, or ministers of the church) have been killed by Uzi or Galil bullets," or "this village has been bombed by Israeli-made Arava planes." These same Aravas are advertised in Western journals as "commercial" planes that can be quickly converted for military use, and the numbers of soldiers, bombs and cannons which they can transport are set out in detail. Only our own communications media avoid pointing out these facts. After all this we wonder, "Why are we not loved?" and blame "anti-semitism" or "Arab money," instead of asking ourselves what we are doing to the world!

According to foreign sources, El Salvador is not the only Latin American country which we provide with arms. Israel was (—CENSORSHIP CUT—) a major arms supplier to Guatemala, whose brutal regime equals and perhaps surpasses that of El Salvador. How did these friendly ties between the two states come about? Several years ago, repression in Guatemala reached a peak when hundreds of student demonstrators were cut down by machine guns in the central square of the capital, Guatemala City. The world (with the exception of Israel) was shocked, and the U.S. temporarily halted arms supplies to Guatemala. Within a short space of time, the Guatemalan Chief of Staff, together with Marcus Katz, (one of the important Israeli arms dealers, about whom we shall speak later). (—CENSORSHIP CUT—)

We will see this phenomenon of Olympic calm in many similar cases. But one of Israel's clearest relations in that region was the prolonged and close cooperation with the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. In the last year of that dictatorship, Israel supplied 98% of its arms imports. This fact assumes great importance if we recall that in the last two years alone, the Somoza regime killed about 50,000 people, or that his regime bombed the poverty slums of Managua, as well as other towns, mainly with Israeli-made Arava and West Wind planes. After the fall of Somoza, the dimensions of Israeli assistance were published throughout the world; in fact, the assistance is felt to this day, since the People's Army of free Nicaragua is mainly equipped with captured Israeli-made arms which were found in Somoza's arsenal and which can be seen in all the recent arms photos.

A series of articles in *Davar* (newspaper of Histadrut, the General Federation of Trade Unions) written by Nahum Barnea and Yosef Priel

have to some extent been eye-openers, not only in this affair, but also with regard to the whole structure of the death machinery made in Israel. We have learned, for example, that the

"Galil rifles sold by Israel to the regime of Anastasio Somoza in mid-1978 were sent directly to a special terror unit commanded by Somoza's son, *which carried out the murder of political opponents, among them women and children*. The rifles were sold to Somoza in contravention of normal usage, and no account was taken of the political damage that this deal would cause Israel in Latin America" (*Davar*, November 13, 1979, emphasis added).

Of special interest are the concerns of *Davar*, which loyally represents the whole Israeli establishment. The blood of people, women and children, is not important nor is the abysmal hypocrisy decisive. Israel, which pretends to be "against terror," supplies arms to the worst of all terrorists. The only factor that counts is the "political damage"; that is to say, if the blood that has been shed, the blood of women and children, has, in the opinion of the establishment's specialists, brought "political benefit" instead of damage to the State of Israel, then everything is okay! Greater hypocrisy than this is hard to imagine.

Marcus Katz, Hammer, Ben Meir and the Circles Close to Begin

But let us continue the story: "The agent who struck the arms deal with Somoza, David Marcus Katz, was considered a friend of Nicaragua's ruler and top figures in Israel." (*Davar*, November 13, 1979.) The authors then set out in detail the nature of the friendship and ties. According to his friends,

"Katz, who left this country before the 1948 war, serves today as the agent of about seventeen Israeli enterprises, including suppliers of military equipment, and first and foremost, the Aviation and Army Industry (Ta'as). He comes here frequently and meets with political figures with whom he has close contacts, some of them in Likud and Mafdal (National Religious Party). *He is known for his close connection with Minister Hammer and Knesset Member Ben Meir (leaders of the fanatic religious nationalist group, Gush Emunim) and for his contributions to religious funds. . . . The impression among higher governmental echelons is that Katz has the backing of political circles, including those close to the Prime Minister.*" (*Davar*, November 14, 1979, emphasis added.)

To this we must add that the friends of the friends of the tyrant Somoza

are not only limited to the circles of Likud and Mafdal. One newspaper which has praised this arms dealer to the sky is the Mapam (left Labor Party) organ *Al Hamishmar* ("Who are you Marcus Katz?" by Dr. Eliyahu Harel, December 30, 1980). There is no limit to the compliments which this paper, that permanently bears the slogan "For Zionism, Socialism, and the Brotherhood of the Peoples," heaps on the friend of the murderers of women and children.

"Marcus Katz speaks Hebrew fluently and has pleasant manners; he began his public activity in this country as one of the founders of Naim Mizrachi Youth [Mizrachi was the precursor of Mafdal]. Like the majority of the people at that time, he joined the Hagana [the main Zionist military organization in British-ruled Palestine], but in 1947, before the establishment of the State, he joined his parents in Mexico. ... He has indicated that it was not easy to leave the country on the eve of the establishment of the State, but one of the Mizrachi leaders at that time, David Zvi Pinkas, imposed on him the mission of establishing a branch of the movement in Mexico."

In addition to this, *Al Hamishmar* points out with satisfaction and pride that Mr. Katz is a patron of religious institutions in the U.S., Mexico, and Israel, that he has instituted the Katz Prize to encourage "ways of activating the Halakhah (Jewish religious law) in modern life," has also received certificates of the "crown of the Torah," and was awarded a degree of doctor honoris causa, from Yeshiva University in the U.S.

But we would be mistaken if we thought that even Nahum Barnea and Yosef Priel, who infinitely surpass *Al Hamishmar*, have given the whole story with regard to the Somoza regime, much less of Israel's deals, even Israel's other dealings in the region. First of all, the matter which really interests them is money. Did Katz receive an exaggerated commission? Were steps undertaken to diminish his commission? It is to these questions, whose importance is nil, that they devote the greater part of their series, together with a detailed description of internal intrigues (Do the Israeli ambassadors give sufficient assistance to arms exports? Whether or not the aviation industry should dominate this export, etc.).

The Leading Group in Israeli Industry

Only in the last article of the series ("The robot rises against his maker," *Davar*, November 16, 1979) do the authors come to the main point. First of all, and in my view justifiedly, they state that "arms producing enterprises" are the "leading group in Israeli industry." These arms are exported "to countries which, for the most part, cannot acquire them in the United States, and the regimes in some of these countries are notorious." This is,

of course, only half a truth. There is not a single state to which Israel sells arms in great quantities whose regime is *not* notorious! However, the authors also point out the "advantages":

"A large arms industry is apt to contribute a decisive share to the Israeli war effort in terms of emergency conditions and prestige. It is important to state that the decisions on this issue were taken years ago, and responsibility for them for better or for worse rests in the political sphere with former Defense Minister Shimon Peres."

The authors call attention to the fact that within this framework, "the government ministries enabled ambassadors and senior Israeli army officers to integrate into the arms trade, ignoring the real juridical significance of such an act." But in spite of a promised foreign ministry investigation into the matter under this government there was not and will not be any investigation of the basic significance of Israel's friendship with the Somoza regime. Also the view of the authors is quite amazing here (even though it is characteristic of Israeli society):

"About six months before the downfall of the tyrant, the Israeli government promised the Americans to join the embargo on arms supplies to Nicaragua. *The government was not obligated to make the promise*, but once made, it was obliged to keep it. The promise was grossly broken. When this was exposed, Israel's international reputation was severely damaged. Ostensibly, in this affair actions were carried out without any authoritative confirmation." (Emphasis added.)

The authors also repeat Shimshon Ehrlich's disclosure (*Ha'aretz*, November 14, 1979) that an:

"agent of the corporations which deal with arms export (—CENSORSHIP CUT—) continued supplying Israeli weapons to Somoza until the final stages of his downfall (—CENSORSHIP CUT—) The agent employed one of his men in Nicaragua, who lived in the bunker of Somoza's army commander. This man presented himself as a commander in the Israeli army" (—CENSORSHIP CUT—).

In view of what we have read here about "senior Israeli army officers" who were "enabled" to "integrate into the arms trade," we can definitely assume that his "presentation" was the truth!

We have dealt at length with the case of Somoza's regime because of the detailed information available, and because of the political importance of Marcus Katz, who was honored not long ago by the Israeli Chief Rabbi, Shlomo Goren, Education Minister Zebulun Hammer and another two hundred guests from the upper crust of Israeli society, who were especially

flown to the wedding of Katz's daughter at the expense of Marcus Katz, or more correctly, at the expense of the blood of the murdered, which cries from the earth against the guests of the murderers' friend.

We will deal with other Latin American states more briefly. According to foreign sources, Israel (—CENSORSHIP CUT—)

In Latin America, Israel supplies large quantities of arms to the following tyrannical states: (—CENSORSHIP CUT—) Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, and Ecuador. Of special interest is the cooperation of Israel with Paraguay, a state which shelters the most heinous Nazis.

Much is known about Israel's cooperation with Argentina (a state, in which, according to Amnesty International, Jewish prisoners are forced to kneel before Hitler's picture!) and with Chile. Here we are told by Marcel Zohar ("Israeli Generals in South Africa," *Ha'aretz*, August 10, 1978) that:

"In the course of one and a half months, three Israeli generals (in reserve) visited Argentina. In May of this year, Lieutenant General Hayim Laskov (in reserves), [former Chief of Staff of the Israeli Army], arrived in Buenos Aires. After meeting Jews from Buenos Aires, he met the Chief of Staff of the Argentinian Army and held conversations with him and others. Laskov was received with all respect by the senior officers of the army, and this visit opened the path for subsequent visits by Israeli generals."

According to this article, other generals included General Mordechai Hod (res.), who visited in July 1978 and lectured to the general staff of the Argentinian Air Force. One week after Hod's visit Argentina welcomed Lieutenant General Motta Gur (res.) who arrived in Buenos Aires after his visit to Chile, where he was welcomed by President Augusto Pinochet and held talks with various people. Gur then attempted to defend Pinochet's regime, saying that reports of the Chilean press about Chile are "not commensurate with reality."

Such a thing is called being "more Catholic than the Pope." In the opinion of Motta Gur, even the enslaved and censored press of Chile exaggerates. . . .

Gur and Pinochet's Victory

However, Motta Gur, who has a senior position in the Labor Party, writes in *Davar* every week (but not about Chile!). He has let himself be photographed with Pinochet (and I can testify that the photo is being distributed in the U.S. as Israeli proof of how "good" the regime in Chile is). He also declared to Pinochet, "I know that Chile's army is now used to winning and has an appetite for victory." We remember, of course, over whom this victory was achieved. How is it said? "Tell me who your friends

are, and I will tell you who you are."

After this visit with one of the biggest murderers in the world, it is no wonder that when he came to Argentina, the Israeli embassy there celebrated the Motta Gur festival "with great success." Gur appeared on television (—CENSORSHIP CUT—) Argentina treated him as if he were still the Chief of Staff, and he met with General Viola, the supreme commander of the Argentinian army.

Replying to newspaper questions he confirmed that "We are very much interested in our trade in this sphere (—CENSORSHIP CUT—) "This is no secret; everybody knows that Israel has emerged as a successful competitor to the long-standing suppliers of arms for the Argentinian army."

On the occasion of the screening of a film about the 1976 Entebbe operation, Gur was honored with a reception in one of the halls of the Jewish community in Buenos Aires (—CENSORSHIP CUT—) among those present were the heads of the intelligence services and the operational staff of the Argentinian army, that is to say, those who are responsible for the torture and disappearance of thousands of people and other outrages. The photos showing Motta Gur together with the murderers of the Argentinian people were also distributed in the U.S. and constitute an effective propaganda weapon there.

Before we leave the American continent, which has been saturated with blood and tears through the export of Israeli arms, a brief look at Israel's ties with Ecuador will provide us with a kind of comic relief from all this tragedy. Perhaps those who collect newspaper clippings will recall the episode which Matti Golan publicized in *Ha'aretz* early in 1977 (specifically March 22, 23, and 28). In this affair, Israeli General Rehavam Ze'evi, known as "Gandhi", together with the actor Hayim Topol offered the government of Ecuador sophisticated equipment and technicians for service in the war against "terror." The third person in this deal was Bezalel Mizrchi, whose name is very well known—in connection with organized crime in Israel. General Rehavam Ze'evi was introduced in a private capacity by the Israeli ambassador in Ecuador (who had not been notified about the visit beforehand). But it turned out that he was still on the payroll in the prime minister's office, then Yitzhak Rabin, where he was serving until recently as an "advisor in the war against terror." At this point Matti Golan made inquiries in government ministries about the connection between the actor Hayim Topol and the war against terror. A senior official in the Prime Minister's office responded by attempting to convince him not to publish the information, claiming that "Gandhi" was engaged in private business and that the publicity would damage his livelihood (—CENSORSHIP CUT—) The questions about the connection between play acting and terror was clarified later. Hayim Topol first alleged that he exports biblical films to Ecuador. After further

investigations, he confirmed his partnership in "Ghandi's" group, which also included Bezalel Mizrachi and a former member of Mossad (Israeli intelligence) whose name is not permitted for publication.

"Some security factors" then came forward to help "Gandhi," without great success, claiming that "he and Bezalel Mizrachi have great plans that involve a large number of Israeli security specialists." Finally "Gandhi" himself offered an explanation. In a long interview in *Yediot Ahronot* (April 1, 1977), he announced that first of all, he does not see anything shameful in being an arms dealer and revealed that he had initiated the business ties with Hayim Topol for the distribution of biblical films in South Africa! He remarked that his is a well-paying business, and that he has serious intentions of establishing a company for security advice outside Israel. There are many people in Israel, he explained, who have terminated their duty in the security services, and now encounter difficulties finding work in Israel that suits their qualifications. His company will not only solve this problem, but it will also bring foreign currency into Israel. Having agreed already to government supervision of his company, "Gandhi" was concerned only that his "specialists" might exploit their jobs for leaving Israel and accordingly, he proposed various means to prevent this danger.

We do not know the continuation of these matters, but I should not be astonished at all if such a commercial company still exists and if next to the big item of Israel's income from arms exports also stands a small item of income from the export of specialists in tortures. As well as from biblical films which are distributed by "specialists" against terror.

On the African Continent

In order to stick close to the subject of this article, we will ignore the "duties" which Israel has fulfilled in the Arab countries of North Africa, because these "duties" are the same as Israel's "duties" in the Middle East. We do this in spite of the fact that the international press has recently published numerous details, for instance, of Israel's decisive role in the re-establishment of the Moroccan secret services in the 1960's in the kidnapping and murder of Ben Barka, and in all sorts of "visits" and "meetings" of Labor Alignment leaders and adherents of Shelli (a small Israeli peace party formed in 1977) such as Amos Kenan, in that country. Here, however, we will speak about the African countries to the south of the Sahara Desert.

Before the 1967 war, Israel had an enormous influence amongst African states. But that war, and still more the 1973 war, and the obstinate refusal of the Israeli government to withdraw from the occupied territories in the

West Bank, Gaza and the Golan and to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinians has brought about a political reversal in this part of the world, with the exception, of course, of South Africa, where in fact the position of the Israeli conqueror worked to strengthen the friendship between these two countries. We will first of all deal with those states of black Africa where Israel still maintains a strong influence and then devote the main part of our discussion to Israel's relations with South Africa and the adjacent countries.

The three independent states where a very strong Israeli influence has been felt recently are the Ivory Coast, the Central African Republic, and Malawi. The regime in the Ivory Coast is justifiably considered one of the most inegalitarian in Africa. Estimates from France indicate that 80% of the property in that country belongs to the President, his family, and a tiny number of his favorites. Development does not serve the interests of the ruling clique and is therefore almost nonexistent. Elementary and secondary education is at a low level, even in comparison with the situation under French colonial rule. The peasants are compelled to sell their produce, at prices fixed by the government, to monopolistic companies which are controlled by or belong to the President and his favorites, who then sell this produce at great profit to Europe and America. This background of terrible poverty among the peasants and the majority of the townspeople throws the showy standard of living of a narrow stratum of rulers into sharp relief. It is this stratum, moreover, which has converted the Ivory Coast into a center of exclusive tourism for the "sparkling circle" of Western Europe. The luxury hotels, the palaces of the rulers, the monopolistic companies—all this was and is built in close cooperation with Israel, first and foremost with the Histadrut-owned corporations and secondarily with private companies. The number of Israelis who work in the Ivory Coast has also grown rather large, and in the course of time, they have justifiably become a target of hatred for all progressive forces in that country, since they are one of the central pillars on which the tyrannical regime of the Ivory Coast rests.

But things were clearer still during the brief period when the Central African Republic was an "empire," under the rule of the tyrannical Bokassa. One of our "famous generals," General Shmuel Gonen (res.) decided after the publication of the Agranat report on military shortcomings in the October 1973 war, drawn up by a commission headed by the former Israeli Supreme Court President Agranat and unfavorable to Gonen, that his place in life is to be friend and favorite of the cannibalistic "emperor," Bokassa. Gonen's former surname was Gorodish, and because he was notorious in the Israeli army for his harassment of subordinates, to this day, officers who behave like him are called by soldiers "little Gorodish." Gonen-Gorodish has told the Israeli press that

he built up public relations for Bokassa throughout the world. Among the arguments he presented in favor of the self-appointed emperor was not only the deep friendship, as he said, of Bokassa, towards Israel but also, that he was no worse than the Shah of Iran. The latter, of course, was also a fervent friend of Israel and, as we shall soon see, of the Israeli Labor Party. However, General Gonen's days of splendor did not last long: with the assistance of French soldiers, the "emperor" was toppled down and sent into exile in the Ivory Coast itself, in one of his luxurious palaces there, since, as the proverb says, "Birds of a feather flock together," and there he will also not be caught by the press which wants to find out which Western rulers received his presents of diamonds. Almost the first thing which the new rulers of the Central African Republic and their French advisors have discovered, however, is the fact that Gorodish-Gonen failed to pay large amounts of taxes and customs to the state treasury. General Gonen has been under house arrest for several months, and an investigation into this matter is under way.

In the context of Israeli society, it is very interesting that Gonen's status at the court of the cannibalistic emperor has not touched his social standing in Begin's Israel. General Gonen was at one and the same time friend of the cannibal and elected delegate of the last congress of the Herut party [Begin's party] for the north of Tel Aviv! His popularity at this congress was great, and he embraced and kissed Begin in front of the TV cameras. As we have said, "Birds of a feather flock together," and in my opinion this also applies to Menachem Begin and the notorious revisionist "splendor." [This refers to the extreme right wing of the Zionist movement, the Revisionist ideology and party that was the precursor of the present Herut.]

A particularly grim dark duty is carried out by the Israeli government in Malawi. Since independence this country has been ruled by a tyrant named Dr. Banda, who very soon revealed himself to be a loyal and open friend of the apartheid regime. His visits to Pretoria as an honored guest of the South African leaders are as notorious in the world as the visits of South African ministers to Israel. Before the overthrow of the Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique, he was helping them against the freedom fighters of that country. In short, the regime in Malawi is one of the most repressive in the whole world and can be compared only with that of countries like Guatemala and El Salvador. But what distinguishes it in particular is the fact that the murders and tortures of Dr. Banda's opponents are carried out by boys. The state youth movement, which was established by advisors from Gadna and Nahal (official Israeli pre-military and military formations), is used as the tyrant's private instrument for murdering political opponents, terrorizing workers by flogging, and torturing anyone who dares to doubt the divine wisdom of the nation's

"father," Dr. Benda. In exchange for this service, the chosen gangs of this "youth movement" are allowed to pursue their excesses in non-political respects as well: to beat, torture, and harass innocent citizens "just for the fun of it," perhaps also for purposes of training. To this day, Israeli advisors are training Malawi's "youth movement," even though it is not known precisely what sort of training this is. The Israeli press describes it as something resembling Gadna and Nahal. (—CENSORSHIP CUT—)

It should be remarked that the international press knows the character of Dr. Benda's regime very well and from time to time publishes details. But in recent years, the principal ties of the State of Israel are with South Africa, the "states" or Bantustans which have been established by the apartheid authorities, and with occupied territories like Namibia.

Until recently, the list could have included Ian Smith's (and Bishop Muzorewa's) Rhodesia, today the liberated Zimbabwe. According to foreign sources, Smith was given an Israeli concession for production of Uzi submachine guns. The name of the Uzi produced for Rhodesia was "Rhuzi" (Rhodesian Uzi) and apart from its military deployment, it was sold (of course only to whites) at a price of 100 Rhodesian pounds per piece. Israel also served as a "reloading point" for important military equipment, such as American helicopters whose direct sale to Rhodesia was forbidden by U.S. law. As was broadcast at the time in a British television report, these helicopters were "sold" to Israel and immediately resold to Ian Smith.

But let us now pass on to what are, in my opinion, the most important ties which exist between the State of Israel and any other country, with the exception of the U.S.: South Africa. This bond has a complex history which cannot be dealt with here at length. We will only point out the deep friendship between Chaim Weizmann (President of the Zionist World Organization and first President of the State of Israel) and the heads of the South African regime (such as Jan Smuts), and the assistance constantly extended by that regime to the alliance between Zionism and British imperialism. Let us also recall that already in the thirties, South Africa was lending its support to the most extreme factions within the Zionist movement. Samuel Katz, who left the service of the Begin government and now tends to the most extremist "Hatehiya" Revival party, tells in his memoirs how he was appointed South African consul in Jerusalem during the thirties and how he exploited his post for the benefit of Etzel Irgun Zvai Leumi—National Military Organization, the terrorist military group later headed by the present Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Begin. Indeed, the Jewish population in South Africa has the most chauvinist and nationalist character of any Jewish community in the world (though, of course, there are many Jews in South Africa who have taken a stand against apartheid as individuals or as members of progressive groups or

parties).

Here we will deal a bit more profoundly with the character of these relations between the State of Israel and that regime which is most abominable even in the eyes of many persons throughout the world who are considered conservative, a regime which has developed out of a movement initially sympathetic to Nazism for ideological reasons, and many of whose leaders were imprisoned during the Second World War for their active sympathy with the Nazis; a regime whose relationship to the native Africans who make up the vast majority of the South African population, is like the relationship of the worst anti-semites to the Jews. Of course, the "visible" part of Israel's relations with South Africa is known by now. The State of Israel is the only country (with the exception of Malawi and the Ivory Coast) in which South African government ministers and Prime Ministers are received with great honor, and likewise Israeli ministers are the only government members of any independent states (except Dr. Benda) who visit and are received with great honor in South Africa. Even the U.S. government of President Reagan does not maintain such relations with South Africa. However, what cannot be imagined with Reagan can be imagined and is possible with Rabin as well as with Begin, for whatever this tells us about Israeli society as it really is.

Public criticism in our country about such official visits with the leaders of the most racist regime in the world was weak six to seven years ago, and it grows weaker all the time while it continues to draw attention to all those who maintained official relations and friendships with the Nazis in the past.

Beyond the "official" friendship, relations between Israel and South Africa have three important foundations: economic cooperation, cooperation in (CENSORSHIP CUT-) industry, and political cooperation.

1. Economic Cooperation

Let us begin with a characteristic example. *Yedi'ot Ahronot* of October 12, 1976 describes with admiration how many enterprises in Israel are trying to extend their commercial relations with South Africa. Among the most successful ones *Yedi'ot Ahronot* mentions Assia-Na-abarot, which belongs to a Hashomer Hatza'ir kibbutz (the youth movement of Mapam, the Left Labor Party). The kibbutz produces a mixture of animal feed for cows. Already in 1976, the export of this kibbutz enterprise amounted to \$1 million and the kibbutz undertook the "task" of enlarging its export to South Africa by 20% annually, in order to enlarge the sales of this mixture for South African farmers (and as it is known, the most brutal oppression in South Africa is that of the Black agricultural laborers). In many cases,

prisoners are "handed over" during the period of their imprisonment to the white owners of farms in the apartheid regime. It was precisely at this time that the kibbutz invited South African farmers here to study the scientific use of the mixture.

Another example comes from the newspaper *Ma'ariv* of December 12, 1976. The paper's correspondent in South Africa tells us the Tadiran electronics company built up an enterprise in a town near Pretoria, in partnership with a South African company. The chief engineer of the enterprise, David Frankel, announced that his company would produce equipment for lighting in emergency situations, and would import and sell sophisticated communications instruments from Israel. Thus, when African children in Soweto and other ghettos rebel against oppression, the apartheid policemen call their colleagues by means of communications instruments "Made in Israel."

However, the economic cooperation between Israel and South Africa is not limited to those examples of Israeli companies (whose number is very large!) which supply know-how and vital products to South Africa. It goes much deeper. Here we will only quote from two reports which were published in *Ma'ariv* on one and the same day (February 7, 1979) about the visit of Simha Ehrlich, then Israeli Finance Minister, to South Africa. In order to explain the basic idea which Ehrlich proposed at that time and which has since been implemented, we must remind the readers that because South Africa has been considered an abominable state for many years by the overwhelming majority of countries, all customs rebates for South African products have been cancelled, and no country (with the exception of Israel, Malawi, etc.) signs any commercial contracts with them. Obviously this causes considerable difficulties for their export trade, Ehrlich therefore, proposed that South Africa make use of Israel as a springboard for penetration into the European Common Market (where Israel is an "attached member" with great customs reductions), as well as into the U.S. In this way, South African goods will be "exported" to Israel for "finishing" (which in most cases is likely to involve nothing but sticking on the label "Made in Israel") and then shipped to Europe and the U.S.A. It should be mentioned that the European newspapers, especially the conservative ones, were quick to protest the deal, and of course, officially, Israel denies it.

Similar cooperation is speedily developing in other enterprises as well. In *Yedi'ot Ahronot* of November 28, 1976, we read that the Israeli company Netafim, which produces irrigation equipment, has gone into partnership with a South African company for producing and distributing its equipment in Europe, the U.S., Latin America, and elsewhere. In spite of the fact that the capital is South African, the new company was registered in Holland by Netafim as an Israeli company in order to "purify" the business.

A great part of these deals is in the hands of the Histadrut as pointed out by *Ha'aretz* on February 16, 1981, under the headline "The Main Part of Commerce with South Africa is Concentrated in the Hands of the Koor Concern." *Ha'aretz* reported:

"Companies which are controlled by the Koor group [Koor is a Histadrut-controlled company] constitute the main part of foreign trade with South Africa. Typically, a company operates in South Africa, but for political reasons ownership is not registered to this group but to individuals. This company carries out export deals for tens of millions of dollars annually, including those of kibbutz owned industrial enterprises. Informed sources have said that Koor has no intention of liquidating its deals in South Africa."

2. Industrial Collaboration

In this context, we will refer to two affairs which were covered at length by British press and TV, which are connected with Angola and Namibia. About half a year ago, British television (and subsequently the press as well) aired a report referring to the sale of American helicopters to South Africa, in the middle of their notorious invasion of the newly liberated Angola [in 1976]. It turns out that Dr. Kissinger, with reason, expected that the U.S. Congress would not confirm the sale of such equipment at such a time to such a state, and so, just as in the case of Rhuzi and the helicopters to Rhodesia, an "Israeli solution" was found for this problem by means of a fictitious sale effected by "unknown Israeli companies," and the "copters were transferred to South Africa."

A still more important affair, which was reported in London in the summer of 1979, is that of an electrified fence which was erected by South Africa on the border between Angola and Namibia, in order to block the Namibian liberation fighters of SWAPO. In fact, it was the Israeli Aviation Industry which built that fence, and this was confirmed by Colin Legum, a well-known authority on African affairs, in a lecture to a Jewish organization in London in 1980, the details of which were later published in *Davar*. Anyone who peruses such magazines as *Aviation Weekly* knows that our aviation industry is expert in producing electrified and non-electrified wire fences of various kinds, and that it offers its services in this sphere to those who need such equipment (and have the money for it). Obviously, construction of a system of wire fences along a border that extends thousands of kilometers demands a high level of sophistication, organization and efficiency of performance. Of course, this also brings in large profits. Only a few countries in the Western world have this efficiency, and South Africa is not among them. It is only to be regretted that Israel's ability is expressed by the acceptance of such shameful work.

3. Political Collaboration

We have seen that one of the services the Israeli government provides to tyrannical regimes in South Africa is the publication of photos of local tyrants together with Israeli leaders (such as Motta Gur), which then appear in the U.S. and are used as an alleged proof of the "progressive" or at any rate the "not so terrible" character of those tyrannical leaders—who, in most U.S. circles, would dare to attack the State of Israel and risk being accused of "anti-semitism" or if they are Jews themselves, of "self-hatred?" The relations, the official meetings, and all the rest serve in the Western world, and particularly in the U.S. to whitewash the regime in South Africa. In practice, as reported by American business publications such as *Fortune* over the years, close relations exist between the South African embassy in the U.S., the Israeli lobby, and that part of the Jewish community which is fully dominated by Israel. In recent years, Taiwan has also played a role in this "Holy Alliance." The Western press is full of reports about the alliance of South Africa, Israel, and Taiwan, which tries to drag the U.S. into a particularly harsh policy against the Third World and the Soviet Union.

This alliance, and especially the Israeli-South African part of it, goes back to Dr. Kissinger's days. The prestigious English weekly *The Economist* reported on November 5, 1977 that:

"Mr. Kissinger in early 1975 secretly asked the Israeli government to send troops to Angola in order to co-operate with the South African army in fighting the Cuban backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. The Israelis temporised, reluctant to do this. But eventually they sent South Africa some military instructors specializing in anti-guerilla warfare plus equipment designed for the same purpose. In return, the Israelis took Mr. Kissinger's request as the green light for an Israeli-South African partnership. In May, 1976, South Africa's Prime Minister, Mr. John Vorster, arrived in Israel for an official visit. He signed a row of economic and military collaboration agreements that centered on South Africa's willingness to finance some of Israel's costlier military projects. Israel was to reciprocate by supplying weapon systems and training."

The Economist goes on to describe specific areas of collaboration:

"South Africa will for its part, put up the money for the next generation of Israeli warships. As a return on its investment, South Africa will cream off the first four or five new boats as they are produced in 1979-80. Forty South African engineers and technicians are now watching over the work at the Haifa shipyards.

The two countries are also collaborating in armour development. In

earlier years, Israel had ransacked world markets in vain for the rare type of steel it wanted to sheath its Chariot tanks. Then, in 1976, along came Mr. Vorster and offered Israel not only the steel it wanted, but also the most advanced technology in steel manufacture to enable Israel to renovate its old-fashioned steel industry. Israel in return undertook to modernize 150 South African Centurion tanks something that Britain, the manufacturer of these tanks had refused to do”

After a very detailed survey of “a third field of cooperation”—military electronics, which involved Israeli companies like Tadiran, the *Economist* concluded with the fourth and “most vital of all for Israel”—energy:

“Should there be an oil embargo, South Africa will let Israel have as much coal as it wants. In time of war, the coal convoys will be escorted to their destination by joint South African-Israeli naval forces.”

Finally, the article explains that:

“Israel entered into this expansive partnership on the strength of a nod from the Ford administration. It feared trouble when Mr. Carter became president . . . Delicate Israeli probes drew out the half-spoken response that the Americans do not expect Israel to change course . . . The Americans may be wanting to use Israel as a clandestine conduit to South Africa.”

Meanwhile, much time has passed, the clandestine conduit is over, and the alliance works.

The Asian Continent

Let us try to return, in our imagination, to the days after the fall and liberation of Saigon (which is now called Ho-Chi-Minh City) in the spring of 1975. We were not the only ones to raise a glass and rejoice, for the victory of the progressive forces in Vietnam brought a change to Thailand as well. After many years of military tyranny, a civilian government was established and began, if hesitantly and slowly, to embark on a process of democratization, freedom of organization for peasants, workers and students, and fighting corruption.

The days of democracy in Thailand were numbered, however. In April 1976, the army carried out a cruel and bloody counter-revolution. Hundreds of students were killed, and others fled to the countryside. Several dozen progressive students were captured and beaten to death in the public gardens of Bangkok before the eyes of the masses and the cameras of the world, and we saw their pictures in the Israeli press.

Immediately after this, we could read in our newspapers, and especially in short items in *Yediot Ahronot* and *Ma'ariv*, about an official Thai delegation which came to Israel for a visit of several days. (—CENSORSHIP CUT—)

The press in the U.S. was more accurate and informed about 20,000 Galil machine guns, and an unknown number of Uzis which were sent to Thailand, where the tyranny had just been restored. Let us think for a minute about the global political significance of this act. The people (and also the government officials) in the U.S. were still thunderstruck by the failure of their long efforts in Vietnam. It was unreasonable to think that less than one year after the fall of Saigon, the U.S. Congress (and certainly American public opinion) would confirm new arms shipments to Indo-China under such circumstances. But the Israeli government (and at that time, the beginning of 1976, the Labor Alignment and Mapam were in power) did not hesitate to assist the tyrannical regime directly.

Let us leap over the intervening years, to March of 1978, when the affair of the "tear gas bombs" in a school in Beit Jala (in the Israeli-occupied West Bank) exploded. After it was proved that the military commander of the West Bank, David Hago'el (later Director of the Ministry of Energy) had lied in his report to the government, he was dismissed from office and was replaced by Benjamin Ben-Eliezer. *Ma'ariv* (March 5, 1978) published the military biography of the new commander, which reveals this senior Israeli army officer spent three years between 1970-1973 in Singapore as a trainer of their army! In a similar manner, we can go through our newspapers and find one fact here and another there about many Asian countries to which Israel sells arms. Only about one country, Iran, under the rule of the Shah, do we have much information, all of which became known after the collapse of that tyrannical regime, for the rest, we must get help from the foreign press. From all these sources, the following picture emerges:

Gabriel Rockets to Taiwan

Israel's closest relations in Asia, over the longest period of time have been with Taiwan. Israeli arms sales to that country are well known throughout the world. *The Economist* and the American press specifically report the sale of the Gabriel naval rocket and also Israel-Taiwan cooperation in developing other sorts of weapons.

Close, but slightly "newer," relations exist between Israel and Singapore. According to reports in the British press, Israel trains many units in the Singapore Army, and especially the armored corps. Since 1976 Israel has also provided this kind of training to Thailand, and recently the foreign press has published information about similar relations (even

though we do not know their scope) with South Korea and the Philippines. Not long ago, we also had the "honor" to read in *Al Hamishmar* (the organ of Mapam) a series of articles written by Zvi Tadmor, which praises the dictatorial regime of President Marcos.

Apart from our Arab neighbors, however, the Asian country about which the Israeli press has kept us best informed is Iran under the rule of the Shah. Other reports have shown the role of the Israeli "advisors" in the incitement for an American invasion of Iran after the Revolution and the role of the Israel lobby in the U.S. in those two contexts.

Allon Visits the Head of Savak

Let us begin with the special, festive supplement of *Davar* on the occasion of Independence Day (May 20, 1980). An honorable place in that supplement was given to an article by Uri Lubrani, the Israeli Ambassador at the Shah's court, under the heading "Allon at the Court of the Shah." Yes, the late Yigal Allon, who had been the darling of the Labor Party "doves," the man who was always lauded by Mapam for his alleged progressiveness [see the article of Dr. Meir Pa'il in the monthly news magazine *Monitin* of March 1981], was a guest of honor at that court. And who was his special host? "The official Iranian host who waited for him [Allon] was Deputy Prime Minister Nasrallah Nassiri, the head of Savak, the Iranian Secret Service, who was executed after the revolution. The reception was very friendly."

As the author remarks afterwards, "Nassiri was also the host of other Israeli personalities, and since he had internal political responsibilities as well, he established rules that enabled him to be the first person to meet with VIP's from this country. As a result, he had special status in everything connected to relations with us." The author of the article, Lubrani, goes on to say that the Iranian Foreign Minister himself did not know about the visit until after its end, and that he, the Israeli Ambassador, had the duty to inform the Iranian Foreign Minister of Allon's meetings with Nassiri and the Shah. The author is of course, in raptures about the luxurious welcome that the Israeli guests received from the head of Savak. Their special "guest house" was one of the most splendid buildings in Teheran, and the trappings inside made them feel that they were not in a real world, but suddenly transported to the setting of an oriental tale. The senior guest had an entire floor in the main building at his disposal. The Ambassador and the host's assistant were lodged on the floor above, and members of the entourage were placed in one of the adjacent buildings in the guest house complex. Nor does the description end there, for when Allon was brought to the Shah's new palace, his escort,

not the Foreign Minister, but the Master of Ceremonies of the palace, "was compelled to wait like an office boy outside the door," when Yigal Allon, the friend of the head of the Savak went into the Shah's chamber.

Nazi Methods of Torture

Let us think for a moment about the significance of this meeting from the point of view of humanity and even from the Jewish point of view. Not a less important newspaper than the "*New York Times*" published, even before the publication in *Davar*, details not only about the horrible tortures of tens of thousands of people by the apparatus of the close friend of Yigal Allon (and all the VIPs from Israel) but even that officers of the CIA "trained that same Savak exactly in the Nazi methods of torture which had been found in German archives!" We will not here refer in full to the many details of information from Iranian and other sources about the Israeli cooperation in this matter. The fact suffices that Yigal Allon and others, probably many, were close friends of the man who was in charge of the Nazi apparatus with all its methods and aims and that *Davar* the newspaper of the "Israeli Workers" points this out in pride and not one of the "doves" of the Zionist left lifts a finger! Of course, afterwards, when the masses defeated that rule, all our papers started crying aloud, but as far as I can remember, not against Yigal Allon nor against his Iranian friend!

Nor were the Israeli relations with the Shah and his hangmen limited to that framework. Uri Dan tells us in *Ma'ariv* (February 21, 1979) that several weeks before his fall, the Shah applied for help to Moshe Dayan, who was then Israel's foreign minister. Dayan turned to Begin and after a discussion, both gave a polite reply of "No," although Moshe Dayan had met the Shah only one year earlier, in order to report to him about the Camp David accords. Uri Dan, of course, denounced that refusal because he wanted the continuation of the alliance of the late fifties, when Iran, Turkey, Israel and imperial Ethiopia united under the auspices of the United States. The Shah valued the friendship with Israel very highly as he believed that via international Jewish relations, Israel had great influence upon the international communications media in Washington and throughout the U.S. Therefore, he requested Israel's services in this sphere for twenty years. Israeli journalists were sent to Iran by the foreign office in Jerusalem, in order to improve Iran's image in the world. American specialists were hired, through Israel, for a similar aim, with hope for additional achievements. The Shah and his men requested Israel many times to make use of the Israeli lobby in the U.S. for aiding the Shah of Iran in creating a more positive image of his regime. Many of the royal requests were passed on via Jerusalem to Henry Kissinger, for example, when he was the Secretary of State, and before that, when he headed the National

Council of Security under Nixon. The Shah also requested Israel to help him in making Carter less sensitive in matters of human rights. "But even the Israeli lobby in Washington could not save Iran from his hands." (*Ma'ariv*, February 21, 1979, article by Uri Dan)

Israel's Influence on Behalf of the Shah Amongst World Jewry

It requires some concentration and special effort in order to comprehend this matter: Israel, under the leadership of the Alignment and the Likud alike, not only maintained friendly relations with a regime of torturers who used Nazi methods, a regime which sucked up all the wealth of its country and kept it in the hands of the royal family, but Israel also used its political influence amongst world Jewry, in order to assist and intensify the tortures and oppression.

In view of this, it is not surprising that in Israel, many voices were heard in favor of the American invasion of Iran. In that festive supplement of *Davar* mentioned above, the commander of the southern front, General Dan Shomron, concluded that "it is possible to free the captives in Teheran," and "counselled the Americans." The fact of liberating them is more important than the cost in human lives." The considerations here exceed the fate of an individual. Not abandoning people is not only a moral issue, but in this context is definitely a political issue as well." And when asked if this was technically feasible, he answered, "In my opinion—yes." Similar attitudes are expressed in an interview with Labor member of Knesset Meir Amit (*Ma'ariv*, November 16, 1979). In this interview, Amit is described as "a former head of the Israeli Army Intelligence and head of Mossad for the security and intelligence of Israel." He does "not content himself" with a "limited action," in the fashion of General Shamron. Indeed, he does not want it, even though he counsels the U.S. that "a clear military option exists, not precisely in order to extricate the hostages who are in the Embassy, but in order to solve a much more extensive problem."

The New Order of Meir Amit

This problem Amit calls, "the situation of Western dependence on Arab-Muslim oil." (Just like the anti-Semites have spoken about "Jewish Money," the new racists speak about "Arab Oil" or "Muslim Oil.") He already knows that the nations there are "crazy nations," in contrast, it appears, to the soundness of the Head of Savak! Therefore, what is necessary for the "Western World," is "leadership" . . . "One who will do what is inescapable and must be done." And what must be done, according

to the former head of "Mossad," a former respectable member of "Dash" (the so-called "Democratic Movement for Change" of blessed memory—this political movement, established in 1977 on the issue of election reform has completely disintegrated) and now a respected member of the Labor Party? He says, "The U.S. can and is obligated to insure its supply of oil from Iran by a military action to seize the region, which is rich in oil. Such an action would not be presented as an ongoing, long-term but a short-term action to insure its interests." Asked if such an action would be complicated for the U.S., our "expert" replies, "No it is neither complicated nor complex. The U.S. can carry out such an action without any considerable difficulties. No one can ignore the danger, but I am sure that if the U.S. would do this quickly and smoothly, the Soviet Union would not intervene. This operation would bring about an American "new order" [we know this expression from another source in recent history] in which every crazy nation must submit to the rules of the game." And who are the crazy people? "It is possible that a tendency will develop among the American public to link the "crazy" nation of Iran and the PLO in the broader framework of Muslims and Arabs of the Middle East, who must not be allowed to continue upsetting life in the U.S. and humiliating the mighty power."

It seems to me that apart from the evil of advocating invasion and occupation (which would like our own occupation, be presented as a brief one, but in reality would not be so brief), this advice also serves to promote racism. The former head of Mossad wants public opinion in the U.S. (and elsewhere one may assume) to hate the "Muslims and Arabs" in the Middle East and "in a broad framework" as well, just as his precursors in spreading racist hatred also wanted the European people to hate Jews within a "broad framework!" Naturally we hope that this horrible aspiration is ultimately doomed, but we have learned from experience that as long as racism is not defeated, much human blood is liable to be shed.

It is also important to note that Amit's advice is a direct continuation of the advice given by Israeli experts in Iran during the Shah's rule. On January 10, 1978, for example, *Ha'aretz* published an unsigned article which was, according to the preface, written by an "Israeli expert who served as an advisor to the Iranian government" and returned to this country, when the Pahlavi regime collapsed.

What did the "expert" advise? Even he considered the Israeli counsels to the "Shah and his generals" to be "reactionary and cynical." He himself acknowledges, "I knew that what I said meant that the army would use tanks and machine guns against the people, that it meant putting the strikers in front of machine guns and giving a free hand to secret police as was done at the time of the revolt in 1963" [when the Shah was driven from the country and then restored to power with CIA assistance]. He then

points out that he gave these counsels because he knew "that the Iranian people are not yet ready for democracy" and therefore must live under a dictatorial regime, and specifically one which is "not left wing." He expresses his regret that there was no "strong general" who would agree to take upon himself the task which our expert proposed.

Let us think for one moment what these proposals mean for the Iranian people, and still more for Israeli society. First of all, we have here an explicit confirmation that "Israeli experts" were busy inciting to genocide, tortures, and everything evil in the world. And we know very well from other sources that this advice was actually applied against the popular revolt in 1963. If we "combine" this picture with what we know about Israel's assistance to Somoza, who was quite serious about applying the advice "to put the strikers before machine guns" then we begin to see the true role of Israeli advisors abroad.

The Ties Between Israel and Iran

It would be a mistake to think that the ties between Iran and Israel were limited to counsels for genocide. Together with the torture, close economic ties developed as well. Thus, *Ha'aretz* of February 12, 1979 tells us that the cancellation of Iranian contracts after the "disruption of the ties between Iran and Israel," cost Israel some \$225 million for 1978, and a similar amount for 1979. We can learn the nature of many of these contracts from numerous published reports about the Sultam enterprises in Yaken'am, [an artillery manufacturer] where 2,000 workers were dismissed "because of the Iranian revolution" (*Ha'aretz*, February 18, 1979). From the same article, we learn that the enterprise is owned by the Histadrut's Koor, which has already been mentioned here more than once and not to its favor.

The social impact of the cessation of exports from this military enterprise is indicated by Sultam general manager Yakov Lior in the *Jerusalem Post* of March 27, 1979. Among other things which he discloses is the global scope of Israeli arms exports: "Sultam exports its products to *forty countries*. [emphasis added]. Among Sultam's products are complete systems of cannon and mortars, together with optical instruments, auxiliary instruments, and various sorts of munitions including night sabotage materials, lighting devices, grenades, and smoke bombs."

Several months afterwards, we learn in *Ma'ariv* (November 19, 1979) about one of Sultam's founders, Shlomo Zevdelovitch, from Finland. Besides the fact that he was a close friend of Golda Meir and used to put his luxurious villa at her disposal for retreats, "it is no secret that in the course of the last twenty years, Zevdelovitch became one of the biggest private *arms manufacturers and traders in the world* [emphasis added]. Among his

other deals, he served as middle-man in the *gigantic sales of Israeli arms to various countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and other regions.*" [emphasis added]. According to *Ma'ariv* he was a middleman for the sale of Israeli arms to West Germany, the same Zevdelovitch who is a survivor of the Holocaust, and "who with his whole heart is tied to Israel." So his ties with Israel were expressed in the establishment of Sultam! And *Ma'ariv* reports with satisfaction that, "The arms empire of Zevdelovitch has expanded all over the world."

Indeed, "Ye eat with the blood and lift up your eyes toward your idols, and shed blood, and shall ye possess the land? You stand upon your sword . . ." (*Ezekiel*, 33:25-26).

The Impact on Israeli Society

The increase in Israeli arms exports in recent years has had a great impact throughout Israeli society. Only a little more than two years ago, in 1978, the total Israeli military export amounted to "only" \$425 million (*Yediot Ahronot*, January 4, 1979). By 1980, as we mentioned at the beginning of this article, the value of Israeli arms export was \$1,430 million dollars, a *rise of 341 per cent in only two years*. Last year, Mordechai Tzipori, Deputy Minister of Defense, told us joyfully that Israeli arms export will reach a value of \$2,000 million (*Ma'ariv*, April 4, 1981), that is to say a *rise of 471 percent in the course of three years!* These figures are amazing because of their size, but they also serve as indicators of two parallel processes: the global role of the Israeli establishment, and the deep social changes that this role has brought about within Israeli society.

This point was made by *Ha'aretz* in order to show the perils stemming from the creation of a caste of army officers, along the lines of the Latin American countries with inflated salaries and increasing numbers of privileges, such as housing, consumer products, and even personal servants (who are called "drivers"). It is not difficult to perceive that these developments go hand in hand not only with the occupation, but also with a deep Israeli involvement, as we have described, in arms sales to the most tyrannical regimes. When, for example we hear from the horse's mouth, the present Chief of Staff of the Israeli Army, (by means of a series of articles written by Zev Shiff and published in *Ha'aretz* at the beginning of June, 1980) that he is opposed to the strikes in Israel, it is difficult not to connect this with those Israeli army officers who, according to *Davar* are given permission to engage in weapons sales to such regimes as that of Somoza, and who also fought strikers, or with the same expert who counselled the Iranian government "to put the strikers before machine guns." There is no doubt that the generals who visit Argentina and Chile,

and the friends of the head of Savak in Iran have not only taught, but have also learned much. And what they have learned, they bring first of all to the occupied territories, and then to Israel as well.

In addition to this influence, Israel's specialization in arms export has changed the character of Israeli industry as a whole (and especially the metal and electronics industries). Thus, we learn in *Davar* (January 2, 1979), from Gabriel Giddur, the manager of the aviation industries, that the Israeli Aviation Industry buys products worth 1.63 million liras [the lira of the year 1978] from other factories in the metal and electronics branches and subcontracts work to about 150 factories outside the aviation industry. Giddur "calmed" plant owners (speaking on the occasion of the Aviation Industry's joining the Industrialists Union), saying that "only" 17% of all the workers in the metal and electronics industries in Israel are working in the Aviation Industry, but he also pointed out that it accounts for 20% of production and 39% of exports in these branches. Of course, as Mr. Giddur has hinted, these achievements of the Aviation Industry are also a consequence of its increasingly favored position with the government.

This has also caused a situation where practically the entire metal and electronics industries in Israel serve as "a slave for producing arms and security exports." Already on March 7, 1977, Dan Zarmi published a highly interesting article in *Ha'aretz* about this danger, which has since turned into reality. In this article he warns of the large scale layoffs which would have been caused in the first half of 1977, if the export of Kfir planes to Ecuador had been prevented by the Americans. Here it must be recalled that Shimon Peres urged Aviation Industry workers to demonstrate in front of the American Embassy with posters reading: "Bread and Work" to protest that American ban. We know that one way or another, Begin subsequently came to an agreement with Carter on this point during his first visit to Washington, and the U.S. continued to support the production of Kfir airplanes and their export to countries under its influence. According to Zarmi's article, in 1977 there were already 6,000 employees working in *one* department of the Aviation Industry, and "two-thirds of them were employed on the Kfir production line. Out of those, 1,500 were earmarked for immediate dismissal, if the Americans had not reached the agreement with Israel." Zarmi also notes that in the previous year (1976), aviation production in the metal industry alone (without electronics) accounted for about 20% of the total industrial production in Israel, and the export of the total of this production was "principally military." Of concern to Zarmi here is the fact that this military production increases speedily and constantly. The main source of the increase, following the Arab-Israeli war of October 1973 was "the acquisition of whole factories in the U.S. by Sultam, Taas and Tadiran," and their transfer to Israel, and the

employment of the most developed American technology.

The author stresses that the production of military hardware, especially for export, suits Israel very much. The metal industry, as it was "recreated" by this development is not built for the conditions and needs of a civilian market and has no capability of competing with it, domestically or abroad.

If this is so "good," why should there be any apprehension? The heads of the military industry are apprehensive about the fact that they are still dependent on other metal industries, which have so far not turned into slaves of the arms industry. Therefore, in Zarmi's view, a situation has developed where a "large military sector" has been created within industry and is surrounded by "a branch of slaves" serving the military sector as sub-contractors. He is bitter about this situation, and proposes as a "solution" that the whole metal industry branch should receive its part of the "cake" of military export and the preparation of "finished products" in this field. As an example, he cites Tadiran which *"sold whole factories for the production of arms to Iran, Singapore and South Africa"* [emphasis added]. And all this by the beginning of 1977! Since that time, as we have seen, Israeli industry, and by extension, Israeli society as a whole, profits more and more from the blood of the freedom fighters. We find that prophet Ezekiel's words about "standing on your sword" are appropriate not only to what concerns the "occupied territories," but also to everything connected with the export of Israeli arms.

May this article be a small contribution to the effort which all of us must exert in order to work and change the situation.

Concluding Note—16 June 1981

The essay translated into English here was originally written in Hebrew for the Israeli Jewish public, and therefore several important aspects of the problem which are quite *obvious* to that public were omitted from it. For the benefit of the public outside Israel, however, I want to mention two crucial issues which also help to explain how Israel can fulfill the world role described above. These are, first of all, support of Jews outside Israel, and second, the shameful silence of so many people (whether Jews or not), who consider themselves "progressive" (or in the U.S. "radicals" or "left of the center") but who become worse than most of the right-wing conservatives as soon as Israel is involved.

When speaking about "Jews" outside Israel, one should be careful to define the social meaning of that term. One can say, roughly, that in the West there are now two types of Jews: those who are more or less successfully integrated into their societies, and those who lead a "Jewish life" socially. This distinction is easily observed in patterns of socializing

outside of work: the Jews of the first category will meet just about everyone, like the Non-Jews in their class, but the Jews of the second category will try very hard, and with success, to meet only other Jews. Because of this, they tend to belong to purely Jewish organizations (in addition to their membership in the general organizations which they join for political or business reasons). From this second category emerges an organized community, which is easily manipulated and self-conscious of its power, but which is *not* identical with those people who are called "Jews" because of their descent or religion. In fact, although the Jewish religion plays a very important role in this social organization through formal connections with the synagogues, it would be a mistake to assume that the Jewish religion uniformly plays a greater role than that of a convenient excuse. The so-called "Reform" (or "Liberal") and "Conservative" streams of the Jewish religion, which constitute a majority in the U.S. are in full decay, as religious movements, but this makes them all the easier to be manipulated by the State of Israel. There is an old Jewish joke about some Christians that says, "There are some who are not sure that Jesus Christ is dead, but they are quite sure that the Jews have killed him." The wheel has now come full circle, and a new joke tells about "those Jews who are not sure that God exists, but who are very sure that he gave the Land of Israel to the Jews," or in a still newer version, "that Begin speaks in His Name."

In any event, it seems that the "organized Jews" will now support the State of Israel in everything, including the making of profit from massacres of innocent people. Of course, in democratic countries, it is their democratic right to do so, just as the Nazi (or pro-Nazi) parties have their right to speak out, in my opinion. But there is a significant difference, which is not in the nature of the action but in the response of the general public. In other words, the power of the Nazis and the anti-Semites is limited by the fact that they have lost their respect, ability, and their credibility. A cleric, a politician or even a scientist who supports Anti-Semitism in public suffers socially and politically for the expression of such views, as is right and proper. Even the refusal to condemn or to dissociate oneself from Anti-Semitic Nazi views is very strongly denounced, and rightly so.

All this comes about because Anti-Semitism, Nazism, and the general dangers arising from them (i.e., not only to Jews) are *discussed in public*.

By contrast, the behavior of Jewish figures who support the Israeli activities described above, or who refuse to criticize them, is *not* discussed in the West, and therefore cannot be denounced. In short, one is faced not only with the obvious fact, that by its cowardice Western public opinion actually promotes those activities, but also with the paradox that those who support terrorism and mass murder, as long as these acts are carried

out by the State of Israel, can parade as people "devoted to Human Rights" or as "liberals" or "socialists" while they are actually quite close to Nazism in their attitudes toward Salvadorans and Palestinians.

This phenomenon is especially prevalent amongst what is called "the Left," using this word in a wide sense. Again not all "leftists" have been hypocrites on this issue, but the role has been, and still is, more common to "leftists" than conservatives. "Leftist" opposition to discussing "Israeli" problems in *public* and the disgusting substitute of saying in private, "I'm so sorry that this happens to Jews, but because I like them (or Israel) so much I won't mention it publicly," is by now a clear proof of the degeneration of the majority of the "left." An even better "proof" is the fact that the majority of the professional "anti-Stalinists" are the worse on this subject, which shows, of course, that they have merely exchanged one Stalin for another, a collective one. Here I will give only one example: Mr. Tony Benn and his supporters in Britain. It is a fact that Mr. Benn, who is very volatile on most international issues, has not said a word about the affairs described here, even when he has spoken against Somoza and the regime of the Shah. So far as I know, he never mentioned Israeli connections with the Apartheid regime, even as a matter for discussion. But what is more important, his supporters are not questioning him about this remarkable silence, which really comes quite close to support for Apartheid and the Latin American dictatorships, through the back door so to speak.

One can, of course, cite many more examples, and I have singled out Mr. Benn because he (and his worshippers) irritate me more than most of the others. But the point should be clear: absence of free discussion of important political problems endangers the very base of democracy, and even of those non-democratic regimes which still preserve the old Roman principle of "RES PUBLICA": the affairs of the state are "a public thing." Those who allow this principle to be violated are neither the "friends of Jews" as they pretend, nor the friends of freedom in their own countries, and if they are on the "left," then their crime is even greater.

APPENDIX I

Israeli Weapons Industry Goes Boom But Its Arms Draw Fire as a Moral Issue Abroad

By LARRY REMER

Los Angeles Times, July 29, 1981

The major source of arms for the conflicts in Central America is not—as Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. would have us believe—Cuba or the Soviet Union. It is Israel. But the Israelis are arming the regimes favored by Washington, so vehement protests from the Reagan Administration are not expected.

In fact, Israeli arms supply one side or another in dozens of hot spots around the globe. According to the London Institute for Strategic Studies, Israeli weapons exports totaled \$1.4 billion last year, making Israel the seventh largest arms trader in the world. And the plucky Israelis have pursued a largely pro-Western but independent weapons-export policy, making friends and enemies for Israel in unlikely corners of the globe and further complicating international entanglements with events in the Middle East. Just this week the Sunday Times of London reported a \$27.9 million arms deal between Israel and Iran, which the Israeli foreign ministry promptly denied.

Having fought periodic major wars and an almost constant stream of border skirmishes in the past 33 years, Israel has developed a remarkable array of combat-tested weaponry. The Israelis found out early that the sale of weapons could help bring hard currency into the country. In the mid-1950s, Israel started West Germany on the road to rearmament with shipments of the famous Uzi sub-

machine gun and large quantities of mortars.

It wasn't until 1967 that the Israelis decided to develop a full-scale weapons industry. Before the Six-Day War, Israel relied almost exclusively on the French for planes and heavy arms. But a French arms embargo, in response to Arab pressure was enacted at the start of the war, and forced the Israelis to confront the degree to which their military strength depended on weapons imports. As a result, it was decided to establish a full-scale domestic arms industry.

The Israelis cannot afford the massive outlay of capital that is required for the designing of new weapons systems from scratch. Instead, wherever possible they have taken existing systems and made their own improvements and adaptations. The Kfir C-2 fighter-bomber, for example, which is now in its second generation, was built using stolen blueprints of France's Mirage V jet to which a more powerful engine, General Electric's J79-17, has been added. And the Galil assault rifle, one of Israel's best sellers on the international market, is simply a lighter, improved version of the Soviet Union's notorious Khalashnikov rifle.

Western military analysts almost unanimously agree that these Israeli design changes have improved the quality of the weapons that the Israeli defense industry produces. However, even though Israel manufactures a

sophisticated line of armaments ranging from Dabur gunboats to Merkava tanks to Gabriel sea-to-sea missiles, the Israelis are not yet self-sufficient militarily. U.S.-made F-15s form the backbone of the Israeli air force, and Israeli and American experts agree that any major Middle East war lasting more than three weeks would leave the Jewish state dependent on the delivery of spare parts and ammunition from the United States for survival.

That survival, the Israelis say, is the principal reason for development of an indigenous weapons industry. If that survival depends on measures that can be realized only through mass production—in economies of scale or in quality control—Israel will do whatever it must to achieve those ends.

"If it meant the survival of the state of Israel, I would sell arms to (Libyan dictator Moammar) Kadafi," said Dan Scheuftan, a Tel Aviv professor.

The Israelis don't sell guns to Libya, but Scheuftan's emotional declaration is typical of Israeli attitudes and responses when outsiders question their weapons-export policies. In a recent interview with U.S. reporters, Israeli Foreign Minister Yizhak Shamir outlined that policy: "We sell to everybody. That is, we don't sell arms to our enemies or to the Soviet Bloc. Besides these exceptions we have our own activities in the international markets alongside the Europeans and the Americans. We sell to governments—legal governments."

Those legal governments include many right-wing dictatorships and regimes with abysmal human-rights records. For example, the Stockholm International Peace Research Insti-

tute reports that until last year Israel was the source of more than 85% of the arms received through intermediaries by the government of El Salvador, where the alliance between the military and vigilante death squads is well established. Another major Israeli customer is Guatemala, a nation cited by Amnesty International as practicing long-term systematic terror against domestic political opponents of the government.

In other parts of the world, Israel has sold gunboats and missiles to South Africa; short-takeoff-and-landing aircraft to Mexico, Mirage fighters to Argentina, missiles to Taiwan and Kenya, and arms to Chile in 1976, when the U.S. government had halted military aid as a result of that country's human-rights record.

"Don't be naive about these matters," Rafi Horowitz, an Israeli government spokesman, said in response to questions about Israel's moral responsibility for weapons sales. "The world is filled with these kinds of governments. How many democracies are there in the world today? Not that many. Besides, do you really think that if Israel were to refuse to sell arms to these countries, the French or the Germans or the Americans wouldn't step right in?"

The Israelis are resigned to the fact that their growing weapons industry will serve to alienate them from the Third World. Take the case of Nicaragua, where Israeli weapons sales to the embattled Somoza regime continued virtually until the day the Sandinista revolutionaries took power. Then, with a flourish, the new government renounced the country's debt to Israel and established relations with the Palestine Liberation

Organization. The Israelis have argued that their support for Somoza was part of the repayment of an old debt. In the late 1940s, Tacho Somoza, the father of the late dictator Anastasio, provided the fledgling Israeli state with the means to acquire the weapons it needed for self-defense, even before independence was formally declared.

In Israel, there has been little debate on the morality of the country's burgeoning sales of weapons. Even if the chorus of criticism from abroad continues, the Israelis will be pressed to continue weapons exports as much for economic as for military reasons. With triple-digit inflation, rising unemployment and large budget deficits, the Israeli economy is in dire straits. Last year's arms sales, which accounted for nearly 15% of all Israeli exports, kept Israel afloat economically. And, with possible major arms deals in the works with Mexico, the arms industry may become a mainstay of Israel's economy.

The Israelis continually use a moral justification for their existence as a state, and expect their international supporters to do likewise. Reconciling this rhetoric with Israel's *realpolitik* needs promises to be one of the major debates of the 1980s. Because the Israeli-Arab conflict and other events in the Middle East receive such intense public scrutiny worldwide, the course of this debate will affect not only the future of Israel itself but

international alignments in several corners of the globe as well.

Larry Remer is the editor of San Diego Newslite a weekly newsletter. He recently returned from a visit to Israel.

ARMS BY PROXY

Last week, Yaacov Meridor, chief economic coordinator in Prime Minister Menachem Begin's Cabinet, gave a speech in which he said Israel expected to rapidly increase its arms exports.

Meridor said Israel hopes to work out an arrangement with the United States to sell arms "by proxy" to nations that Washington feels uncomfortable dealing with directly.

"We are going to say to the Americans, 'Don't compete with us in Taiwan, don't compete with us in South Africa, don't compete with us in the Caribbean or in other countries where you couldn't directly do it.' " Meridor said. " 'Let us do it.' "

—"Israel and Arms Exports," by Michael Precker *Boston Globe*, August 18, 1981.

APPENDIX II

"By-Product" of Strategic Accord with U.S. Israel Gaining Closer Ties with African States

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Jerusalem Post, December 4, 1981

Israel has stepped up its ties with various African countries as part of a U.S.-approved cooperation programme.

The enhanced Israeli role in Africa was linked yesterday by a high Israeli policy-maker to the U.S.-Israel strategic accord, signed earlier this week.

The policy-maker, who briefed reporters both on the strategic accord (memorandum of understanding) and on the plans for Africa, said the African countries had approached Israel for aid knowing that Israel was about to enter into a formal relationship of strategic cooperation with the U.S.

The accord with America puts Israel "on a higher plane" in the perception not only of those pro-western countries in Africa, but of many other countries around the world, the policy-maker said.

The policy-maker confirmed foreign reports that Defense Minister Ariel Sharon had recently toured several Central African states.

In Washington on Wednesday, Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko said his country is prepared to re-establish ties with Israel, but wants to coordinate with other African states. The source said it was "no coincidence" that Mobutu said what he did, in Washington, just after Sharon's visit there to sign the strategic accord with the U.S.

Indeed Sharon was empowered by a number of African states to state on their behalf to the U.S. their growing concern over Soviet and Soviet-surrogate activities in Africa. There are 1,900 Soviet tanks stockpiled in Libya, and a further 700 tanks in the possession of pro-Soviet countries below the Sahara. By comparison, pro-Western Zaire has a much smaller number of tanks.

The policy-maker angrily rejected the suggestion made in some quarters here that the government is creating a role for Israel as "America's Cubans."

Nor, the policy-maker said, would the IDF be sent to fight on behalf of the U.S., under the terms of the memorandum of agreement, in a Middle Eastern conflagration unless the government of Israel determined that Israel's own direct national security interests were threatened.

Thus, for instance, the IDF would not be sent to combat Cubans in Jeddah or Soviet-surrogates in Oman—two scenarios that former premier Yitzhak Rabin drew in the Knesset on Wednesday—unless Israel itself concluded that the situation in those places was a threat to our survival or our security."

But if U.S. forces went into action in one of these scenarios, Israel would be obliged under the memorandum of understanding to give America logistic aid: to put its airfields at the disposal of the U.S. Air Force, to

admit U.S. wounded into hospitals here and to help the U.S. draw on weapons or other supplies that it might have stockpiled here.

Reversing the two countries' roles, the source gave examples of scenarios in which Israel would invoke direct U.S. aid under the memorandum:

- An October 24, 1973-type situation, when the Soviets actually threatened to send in troops against Israel and began concentrating units in Eastern Europe.

- If the 1,200 tanks which the Soviets have stockpiled in Syria were to be manned by (non-Syrian) Soviet-surrogate forces. "This would fall within the definition of "Soviet or Soviet-controlled forces from outside the region introduced into the region (article one of the memorandum), and the memorandum would apply," the policy-maker said.

The boundaries of "the region" referred to in the memorandum are understood to encompass Egypt, Sinai, the Arabian Peninsula, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Turkey. They do not encompass Sudan, nor Iran.

The memorandum gives Israel "a great deal" in return for its strategic help to the U.S., the policy-maker continued. But not everything will be published. The memorandum itself is a public document, but the continuing processes of consultation and cooper-

ation that will now begin to flow from it will not, indeed cannot, all be made known to the public.

There has also been "a far-reaching breakthrough," the policy-maker said, on the complex question of sales of Israeli-produced weapons which include American components. Israel's defense industry has often been hampered in its quest for export markets by American restrictions in this respect. The new breakthrough will have "tremendous repercussions," he added.

The manufacture of key weapon systems here in Israel is especially important, because if export and delivery schedules are well managed, Israel could always have on hand a quantity of such weapons. The production will have been financed by foreign customers, but the arms could be available to the IDF in an emergency.

Vigorously defending the memorandum against opposition criticism, the policymaker said Israel had not wanted it to apply to the neighbouring Arab confrontation states—since that would have limited the IDF's freedom of action against these states. Nor did the Israeli government seek a full-fledged defence pact with Washington—though previous Israeli governments had set this as their goal—for the same reason.

APPENDIX III

ISRAEL IN CENTRAL AMERICA: THE CONNECTION GROWS

The Well-Known Benefactor

By YOSEPH PRI'EL

Davar, January 3, 1982

Even though the American non-military aid given Israel this year is nominally 785 million dollars, Israel will receive this year 21 million dollars more, 806 million altogether. This is not a mistake, this is an example of the generous behavior not of the Americans, but of the Israelis—on account of others, to be sure.

Israel's economic attache in Washington, Dani Halperin, revealed that a year ago the Americans made a special request to Israel. The President of the U.S. [Reagan] decided to

send aid to El Salvador, but the funds in the foreign aid budget ran out. And in difficult times, they appeal to friends. Therefore, the Americans decided to ask a favor from its ally, Israel, by requesting financial help from them. And in an exceptional way, Israel was generous. Israel decided to loan the U.S. 21 million dollars from the funds earmarked for aid to Israel, after assurance that the money will be refunded during the coming fiscal year. Now, the sum was returned to Israel with thanks"

The Chief of Staff of the Guatemalan Army: Israel Supplies Us

Ma'ariv, November 22, 1981

"The Israeli soldier is a model and an example to us."

"Israel gives us military supplies," announced at the end of the week General Benditto Garcia, the Chief of Staff of the Guatemalan army. The General emphasized that Israel is a

small country 'who is doing a massive job.'

"We appreciate Israel; we see the Israeli as the best soldier in the world today, and we look to him as a model and an example for us."

APPENDIX IV

Israel and South Africa: The Nuclear Axis

On September 22, 1979, a mysterious blip appeared on the radar screen of the U.S. satellite Vela, which had wandered off its usual course and was monitoring the sky over the South Atlantic, near the coast of South Africa. Several months later, CBS Radio correspondent Dan Raviv flew from Tel Aviv to Rome (thus evading Israeli censors) and filed a report that explained the mystery.

Raviv contributed his story to a February 22, 1980 broadcast on CBS Evening News which revealed that Israel "exploded a nuclear bomb last September in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of South Africa . . . which was conducted with help and cooperation of the South African government."¹ Raviv had received his information from the manuscript of a book written by two correspondents for *Ha'aretz* (an influential Israeli daily), Eli Teicher and Ami Dor-On. Israeli censors, however, banned the book for publication. Raviv himself was later stripped of his Israeli press credentials.

The Raviv report illustrates the difficulty of penetrating the shroud of secrecy that surrounds both Israeli-South African military relations and the nuclear capabilities of both countries (neither of which has signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty). To be sure, Israel's possession of nuclear weapons is now almost common knowledge: the February 1980 CBS News broadcast estimated that Israel held a few dozen nuclear weapons and a secret CIA Memorandum of September 4, 1974 (later to become public) stated: "We believe that Israel has already produced nuclear weapons."² Indeed, former Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan admitted on June 24, 1981 that Israel had the "capability" to produce nuclear weapons at its facility in Dimona³ (a facility which U.S. officials were said to believe for the first three years of its operation was a textile plant!)

Troubling reports on an Israeli-South African nuclear alliance began to surface in the world press around 1977, although *Ma'ariv* of February 11, 1981 dates nuclear cooperation between the two countries as far back as 1966. In 1977, the U.N.'s Special Committee on Apartheid first noted, as a recent report of the committee recalls, "an increasing number of press reports that Israeli technology was being exchanged for South African enriched uranium. The reports alleged that Israel was assisting South Africa to develop a delivery capability for a nuclear device and that the newly-consolidated ties between the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the Israeli National Council for Scientific and Industrial Research might involve the transfer of nuclear technology."⁴

Newsweek of September 12, 1977—in an article describing a series of Israeli arms sales to the *apartheid* state—noted that Israel and South Africa had jointly planned a nuclear test for the summer of 1977, which was called off because of Great Power pressure.⁵

The International Seminar on Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, sponsored by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid in 1979, added new

evidence to the growing picture of an Israeli-South African nuclear alliance, pointing out that seven Israeli nuclear scientists were working at South Africa's University of Witwatersrand, and that, according to the Swiss Secret Service, Israel was helping South Africa to produce nuclear weapons.⁶

Two articles in the *Washington Post* at the end of 1980 added a few more pieces to the puzzle. South Africa was alleged to be "sitting on one of the hottest military secrets of the nuclear age: a cheap efficient process for obtaining U235, the radioactive form of uranium used in weapons." South Africa is alleged to have kept this secret from the United States, but to have formed an "informal" nuclear alliance with Israel and Taiwan.⁷ Two months later, another *Post* article reported that the CIA was said to be investigating whether senior American Air Force officials had been leaking nuclear technology to Israel, which in turn had passed the information on to South Africa and Taiwan, in a joint development program for Cruise Missiles.⁸

Certainly, South Africa's uranium is crucially important to Israel's nuclear development. On two occasions, Israel is alleged to have resorted to theft to procure uranium: in 1965, when 200 pounds of uranium disappeared from the Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation in Apollo, Pennsylvania,⁹ and in 1968, when a German ship bound for Italy with 200 tons of uranium docked instead in Turkey—minus the uranium. The owner of the ship turned out to be an Israeli intelligence agent, Dan Ert.¹⁰

The increasing international isolation of both states adds to the logic of their alliance. The scope or details of such an alliance still remain, to a large extent, behind a wall of secrecy. In Israel itself, censorship is firmly exercised, as the Raviv incident illustrates. Both *Ma'ariv* newspaper and the Jerusalem Domestic Service (radio) were threatened with penalties when they reported then Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman's secret March 1980 mission to South Africa. The Jerusalem Domestic Service had reported on March 19 that the visit was "perhaps also to sign agreements on the sale of Israeli arms to South Africa."

Defense Minister Ariel Sharon conducted his own clandestine trip to South Africa—and to South African military bases along the Angolan-Namibian border (*New York Times*, December 14, 1981)—as part of a secret visit which included meetings with government officials in Gabon, Zaire, and the Central African Republic, among others. The visit, aimed at restoring Israel's relations with African states (broken in 1973), was reportedly highly successful, although "damaged," the *Jerusalem Post* reported on December 10, by the attendant publicity once the visit was revealed to the world press. Presumably, any African leader wishing to restore relations with Israel runs up against the problem of the Israeli state's relation with apartheid. Yet not only did Sharon visit South Africa on the same tour, but he issued a call, in a December 14, 1981 with *New York Times* correspondent Drew Middleton, to lift the world arms embargo against South Africa.

Clearly, Israel's relationship with apartheid has reached the point of no return, as long as Israeli policy retains the same priorities. This relation has been pursued systematically through both the Labor and Likud governments, although under Prime Minister Begin, former president of the Israel-South Africa Friendship League, the relation has become more visible. As Carole Collins, national

coordinator of the Campaign to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa, stated in a January 22, 1982 article in the *National Catholic Reporter*: "Israel is now the biggest hole in the growing fence of sanctions surrounding apartheid South Africa. Israel is forcing the anti-apartheid movement—even in UN corridors—to ask: will we have to boycott Israel in the future to support the liberation of South Africa?"

—PENNY JOHNSON
March, 1982

FOOTNOTES

1. *Washington Post*, February 22, 1980.
2. *New York Times*, January 27, 1978.
3. *New York Times*, June 25, 1981.
4. Ainslee, Rosalynde, "Israel and South Africa, An unlikely alliance?" United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, July 1981, p. 14.
5. Ainslee, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
6. Also see Barbara Rogers, Zdenek Cervenka, Julian Friedman, *The Nuclear Axis*, London 1978.
7. *Washington Post*, September 13, 1980.
8. *Washington Post*, December 9, 1980. Also see *Ha'aretz*, December 11, 1980.
9. ABC Close Up Report, *Near Armageddon: The Spread of Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East*, April 27, 1981.
10. Orfalea, Gregory, "Arms Buildup in the Middle East," *The Link* September/October 1981.

APPENDIX V

ISRAEL AND LATIN AMERICA: ARMS AND ALLIES

The following three articles by Penny Lernoux, writing from Bogota, Colombia, are reprinted by permission of the *National Catholic Reporter*, P.O. Box 281, Kansas City, Missouri 64141.

Israeli Arms Sales "Imperil Vital Latin Friendships"

By **PENNY LERNOUX** *National Catholic Reporter*, December 18, 1981
Latin American Affairs Writer
Bogota, Colombia

ANALYSIS

*"Tell me who your friends are, and
I'll tell you who you are."*
(Spanish Saying)

TWO DECADES AGO, Israel counted many friends in Latin America. The region was the sole Third World bloc to support the creation of Israel. Until last year the only countries to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's "eternal capital" (instead of Tel Aviv) were 12 Latin American nations and Holland.

Admiration for Israel's social development and agricultural achievements was widespread among political parties, unions and student movements. Thousands of enthusiastic Latin Americans visited Israeli kibbutzim to learn how to set up cooperatives, and teams of Israeli specialists were invited to Latin America to supervise agricultural projects.

That was before the Six Day War in 1967, when the Israelis made large territorial gains at the Arabs' expense. Since then, Israel's diplomatic policy has evolved from enlightened pragmatism to a more controversial style of doing business, and today it rates

just behind the United States as the most unpopular Western power in Latin America.

Contrary to Israeli propaganda, the change has little or nothing to do with anti-Semitism but stems from political and economic decisions made by the Israeli government. Thus Israel has earned the enmity of many Latin Americans because of its arms sales to the most repressive dictatorships in the region, including the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua and the military junta in El Salvador. It also has been condemned by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute for encouraging border conflicts in the region by playing on the fears of rival governments in order to sell arms.

Economic expediency has cost Israel more friends among the oil-exporting countries, as well as some of the biggest importers, which must do business with the Arabs in OPEC.

Israel itself is caught in an oil bind, and one reason for its arms exports to Latin American dictatorships is to

pay a high oil import bill. As the third largest armaments supplier to Latin America behind the U.S. and West Germany, Israel earns nearly \$1 billion a year from weapons sales to the region. Trade of non-armaments accounts for an additional \$237 million a year.

Israel's advocates argue that arms sales to Third World countries are no different than those of the United States, Russia, Britain or France, as "business is business."

But critics of the arms policy, including Israelis, say there is a fatal flaw in that rationale because it ignores Israel's dependence on world opinion. Washington or London may thumb their noses at the rest of the world—and even then success is problematic, as shown by the angry reactions to President Reagan's foreign policies. Israel cannot afford such a luxury, not only because of the unrelenting hostility of the Arab nations but also because of the historical circumstances of its birth, which involved moral as well as geopolitical issues.

Though hard to credit, the same nation that was born of the Holocaust is on excellent terms with the neo-Nazi regime in Argentina. Thus while Jewish newspaper publisher Jacobo Timerman was being tortured by the Argentine military in cells painted with swastikas, three Israeli generals, including the former armed forces chief of staff, were visiting Buenos Aires on a "friendly mission" to sell arms.

The Israelis are not the only ones to have sacrificed idealism to expediency, of course. The history of the U.S. government and the Catholic church in Latin America is hardly edifying. But as a significant, and

sometimes the only, supporter of Latin American military regimes, Israel cannot avoid criticism by hiding behind a religious screen.

Like the Reagan administration, Prime Minister Menachem Begin's government has thrown in its lot with right-wing dictatorships. The dangers of such a course have been illustrated in Nicaragua, where the Sandinist government snubbed Israel in favor of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) because of Israel's support of Anastasio Somoza.

The same policy has damaged Israel's relations with African nations, which can neither forgive nor forget that Israeli arms were used against them. "When we fought against (Prime Minister Ian) Smith's army," explained the former Zimbabwe guerrilla leader Joshua Obote, "we found ourselves facing Israeli guns. I know that there were other arms from different countries, but those supplied by Israel played a crucial part. Many of my comrades were killed by Uzi submachine guns (made by Israel).

"I also know that the Israelis were not shooting those guns, but to the victims of a war there is no difference between those who use the guns and those who make them."

The reaction of the Nicaraguan people has been much the same.

Claims by Israeli journalists that the Sandinist insurrectionists were "inciting the people to anti-Semitism" to gain support for their war against Anastasio Somoza were not consistent with the facts. Countless interviews by foreign journalists, including myself, showed that the Sandinists had no need to play on anti-Semitic feelings when the majority of the people hated the Somoza family for 43 years of political and economic

repression. Indicative of local feelings was the statement of a Nicaraguan lawyer, who told *Newsweek's* Ron Moreau that there was "not a decent person left (in Nicaragua) who is not against Somoza."

Anti-Semitism was never mentioned by Somoza's opponents, but many were critical of Israel for supplying the dictator with arms. Father Bernard Servil, a U.S. priest expelled from Nicaragua by Somoza, summed up such feelings by pointing out that "we have to be able to distinguish the just claims of Israel for its territorial integrity in the Mideast and its criminal complicity in maintaining the Somoza dictatorship."

Alone of the Western nations, Israel supported Somoza to the bitter end, going so far as to buy \$75 million of Nicaraguan cotton when no one else would.

After an Israeli cargo vessel was seen unloading a consignment of helicopters and small patrol boats to assist Somoza's war effort, Washington exacted a pledge from Begin to stop arms shipments.

But that commitment was easily circumvented through the offices of David Marcus Katz, a Mexico-based dealer linked to the Israeli National Religious party, who arranged delivery of a large consignment of Galil rifles to Somoza.

Despite all evidence to the contrary, the Begin government consistently denied any knowledge of Israeli arms sales to Nicaragua.

The Sandinist opposition retaliated by going to the PLO, which obtained arms for the guerrillas from Libya and Algeria. After the revolution, PLO leader Yasser Arafat received a hero's welcome in Nicaragua.

As a further slap at Israel, the

Sandinist government agreed to recognize all Somoza's debts to foreign banks except \$5.1 million in credits from Israel and Argentina for arms purchases.

The Israeli government later tried to make amends by claiming its support of Somoza was repayment of an old debt for a crucial arms shipment sent by Somoza's father during Israel's war of independence. But the explanation did not wash in Latin American circles, including military governments, which had followed Washington's lead in distancing themselves from Somoza's doomed dictatorship.

Israel is paying for such mistakes in international organizations such as the United Nations. While the Latin American bloc formerly could be counted on to join the United States in supporting Israel, it now forms a prominent vote in the regular condemnations of Israel in the UN General Assembly.

Meanwhile, the PLO has expanded its diplomatic and financial links with Latin America, opening offices in Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru and Brazil.

The sizable Arab population in Latin America (12 million Arabs versus 650,000 Jews) obviously is a factor in the PLO's success, but more important, say Latin American officials, are the Arabs' oil clout and the PLO's widespread support among the nonaligned nations of Africa and Asia. Several of the most important countries in Latin America, such as Mexico and Brazil, closely identify with the nonaligned movement and have important commercial links with its African and Mideastern members.

In contrast to Israel's careful diplomacy of the past, which won

enduring friends among the Latin American democracies, the current policy of expediency earns no diplomatic dividends. Thus while the military regimes of Argentina and Chile are prepared to do business with Israel, they side with the Arabs against Israel on international issues. On the domestic front, Argentina follows a thinly disguised anti-Semitic policy.

Israel's reasons for choosing such dubious partners are only partly explained by economic gain. Equally significant are the Begin administration's political motives.

A Zionist and outspoken defender of human rights, Timerman raises some interesting questions about those motives from his exile in Israel:

"When a synagogue was bombed in Paris, how many leaders of the Jewish institutions went there? All of them. Begin even sent a message. Why don't

they go to Argentina? Why are they so quiet about Argentina? Why do some Jews accept things that happened in Argentina so easily that they refuse to accept in the Soviet Union? They do it because they are conservatives, and this is much stronger than the fact of their Jewishness. Just as Jews who are communists have more allegiance to their ideology than to their identity as Jews."

Similarly, the anti-Israeli stance of such nations as Nicaragua can be explained by political motives, not anti-Semitism. Israeli propaganda notwithstanding, there is an important distinction between discrimination against a religion—which the Sandinists cannot be accused of—and opposition to a government which supplied the enemy. That Israel is a Jewish state is beside the point.

"Who's Who of Dictators" Obtain Arms from Israel

By PENNY LERNOUX *National Catholic Reporter*, December 25, 1981

ISRAEL'S BURGEONING arms industry has found ready customers in Latin America, where client governments represent a Who's Who of dictators.

The largest purchaser of Israeli weapons in the Third World, Latin America buys everything from small arms to supersonic bombers, missiles and heavy-duty transport. Israel also supplies a large stock of refurbished hand-me-downs such as French Mirages and Dassault Ouragan fighter-bombers.

More than 20 Israeli arms merchants are stationed in Latin America,

or one-third of the industry's overseas staff. Their customers include El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia and Haiti, all of which have strong-arm governments. About the only Latin American country which does not buy from Israel is Brazil, which has its own arms industry.

Israel's success in Latin America results partly from former President Carter's human rights policy, which forced the region's military governments to look elsewhere for arms. Israel also has developed a reputation as a reliable supplier no matter the

politics of the buyer. Moreover, the Israeli government spends lavishly to entertain visiting Latin American generals and to beat the competition.

Reliable reports suggest that, as a further inducement, Israel is sending military advisers to train Latin American soldiers, as in Central America.

The Israelis' hard-sell tactics in Latin America reflect the arms industry's importance to their economy. The state-owned Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI), which is Israel's biggest arms exporter, is the largest industrial concern in the country, employing more than 20,000 people. Another major armaments company, Soltam, is effectively owned by the labor movement, Histadrut.

Business has been particularly brisk in Central America since the civil war began in El Salvador. According to the Stockholm Peace Research Institute, Israel has been supplying four-fifths of the Salvadorean military's arms. They include 25 Arava short take-off-and-landing tactical transport aircraft, 18 refurbished Dassault Ouragan fighter-bombers, six overhauled Aerospatiale Fouga Magister trainers and large quantities of Uzi submachine guns and Galil assault rifles.

Marwan Tahbub, the Palestinian ambassador to Nicaragua, reported that about 100 Israeli military specialists were training the Salvadorean army and air force in counter-insurgency and weapons maintenance at a base 20 miles from San Salvador in a closed military area. He also said Israeli advisers were operating in Honduras.

While Tahbub's claims may be questioned because he represents the Palestine Liberation Organization

(PLO), earlier PLO information on Israeli arms shipments to Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza proved correct. Moreover, independent sources have confirmed seeing several Israelis at a Honduran airfield, where they were training local pilots.

Like El Salvador, Honduras has an Israeli air fleet, including three Aravas, 12 Dassault Super-Mystere supersonic bombers and one Westwind. The sale of the Dassaults caused a fuss in Washington because the French planes were refitted with American Pratt and Whitney engines by the Israelis, thereby violating laws banning "third-country transfers" of U.S. military equipment. But rather than press the issue, Washington accepted Israel's explanation that there had simply been "an honest misunderstanding."

Guatemala, meanwhile, purchased 10 Aravas and equipped them with forward-firing machine guns and underwing carriers for gunsips. They also bought large quantities of Galil rifles, a tactical transmission system and complex radar circuit. The Guatemalan press has reported periodic arrivals of ships at the port of Santo Tomas de Castilla which came from Israel with weapons for the Guatemalan army.

Guatemala's guerrilla insurgents claim that Israeli and Argentine military instructors are training Guatemalan soldiers in Guatemala, but the report has not been confirmed.

Guatemala's neighbors in newly independent Belize fear that Israeli arms could be used against them, as well as the guerrillas. Relations between Guatemala and the former British colony have long been strained because of Guatemalan claims to Belizean territory. During the last

major border flareup, in 1977, a 65-ton shipment of Israeli guns and ammunition bound for Guatemala was discovered and seized in Barbados.

Israel has been strongly criticized by the Latin American press for cashing in on such disputes. Recently it sold 10 Kfir jet fighters to Colombia after unsuccessfully trying to persuade the Venezuelans to buy Kfirs instead of U.S. F-16 combat planes. Colombia and Venezuela have a long-simmering border dispute, and any change in the balance of military power immediately escalates the arms race.

The Israelis have similarly benefited from the explosive border dispute between Chile and Argentina. Typical of the sales tactics employed was a visit to Chile by General Mordehai Mota Gur, former head of Israel's armed forces, who told Chilean strongman Augusto Pinochet that he knew "the Chilean army is accustomed to victories and hungry for more." Mota Gur then continued

on to Argentina, where his statements had caused concern among the Argentine military that Israel intended to arm their archenemy.

The upshot was that Argentina spent \$250 million to buy 26 Nesher fighter-bombers and two Dabur patrol boats from the Israelis. Antiaircraft shells worth \$1.5 million arrived in Argentina via Pakistan. A private firm owned by an Israeli member of parliament acted as go-between.

The Israelis also sold Argentina 18 Gabriel MK 11 missiles.

Claiming it was not taking sides in the border conflict, Israel then sent its deputy defense minister to Santiago with an offer to sell Chile as many arms as it wanted. The Pinochet regime subsequently contracted the Israelis to service and deliver spare parts for its U.S.-made C-130 transport planes and ordered 150 Shafrir infrared missiles. The Chileans also are interested in buying Israeli combat planes.

Israeli Arms Aimed at "Terrorists"

By PENNY LERNOUX *National Catholic Reporter*, December 25, 1981

IN THE INTERNATIONAL arms trade, only major military items cannot escape attention. Sales of small arms, ammunition, spare parts and police and electronic equipment are rarely publicized, and only when an accident or unexpected snafu occurs do they come to light.

One of the biggest dealers in these secret sales is Israel. Like all such merchants, it is not interested in the

politics of its customers but their ability to pay.

Thus despite its close relationship with the United States, Israel has been supplying Iran's revolutionary government with arms, even during the period when Iran held U.S. diplomats hostage. Israeli shipments included large quantities of U.S. arms which could well have been obtained by Israel from Washington under mili-

tary aid programs.

Details of the deal emerged after an Argentine cargo plane crashed on the Russian frontier. An investigation by the *Sunday Times* of London revealed that the CL 44 turbo-prop had been hired from a small Argentine air company called Transporte Aereo Rioplatense to transport 360 tons of U.S. arms from Tel Aviv to Tehran.

Flying under the code name Tango November, the cargo plane was returning from the third of 12 scheduled missions when it mysteriously drifted into Soviet air space, where it was intercepted by two MIG-25s. According to the authorities in Moscow, it disintegrated after colliding with an unidentified Soviet plane.

Iran's deposed president, Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, confirmed from exile in Paris that Israel had been supplying Iran with arms before, during and after the hostage crisis.

Israel's arms sales to its friends' enemies are of a pattern with its activities in Europe and Latin America, where it is prepared to deal with avowed anti-Semites and international terrorists.

For example, Israel has provided substantial military aid, including Sherman tanks, to the Lebanese Phalangists under Pierre Gemayel. The latter sponsored training camps for the German neo-Nazi group behind the Oktoberfest massacre in Munich in September 1980, when their bomb killed 53 and wounded 215.

According to former Red Brigades leader Petrizio Peci, Israeli intelligence even offered arms and aid to the Red Brigades in return for information on activities of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Italy. (The offer was refused.)

In Latin America Israel supplies modern equipment to local police forces, including the Guatemalan police, which has been condemned by Amnesty International and other human rights groups for its part in official death squads responsible for the murders of thousands of people.

But perhaps the most questionable relationship is with the Argentine security forces, whose anti-Semitic activities have been documented in the U.S. House of Representatives and by the Catholic church and the American Jewish Committee's offices in Argentina (the committee's representative, Jacobo Kovadloff, was forced to flee Argentina because of harassment and threats against his life).

While torturing Jews and sanctioning the bombing of Buenos Aires' Jewish district, these security forces gave official protection to Nazi criminals, including Edward Roschmann, better known as the "Butcher of Riga" for his part in the slaughter of 40,000 Jews in that city.

Nevertheless, Israel has increased its arms business with Argentina since the military seized power there in 1976. Ranking Israel military officials regularly visit Buenos Aires to "increase commercial ties," according to an Israeli general.

Another Israeli group, composed of retired military officials and well-connected business people, supplies "sophisticated material and consulting services for the war against internal activities (sic) and terrorism," in the group's own words.

The "anti-terrorist" organization is headed by General Rehavam Sadi Ze'evi, a former anti-terrorist adviser to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, himself a practiced terrorist

from the time of Israel's war of independence. (The Israeli government's anti-terrorist office already has made a name for itself in the Middle East, where it killed four innocent bystanders and wounded 18 during a bomb attack in Beirut on PLO leader Ali Hassan Salameh.)

Ze'evi said his group was "prepared to give any aid to any government that is not against the state of Israel." When questioned about what the aid might consist of, he listed sophisticated Israeli police equipment and "adequate solutions," a phrase reminiscent of Nazi concentration camps.

"We want to reach a point where more and more governments defeat terrorism with Israeli help," the

general concluded.

In view of the Israeli government's close identification with Latin American military regimes, it is safe to assume that, by terrorism, the general's group means any action taken to protest military repression, whether insurrection or the documentation of official torture. That happens to be the Reagan administration's definition, too, and it is no coincidence that Israel is Washington's closest "surrogate" in Latin America.

The pity is that neither government understands the historical processes at work in Latin America, nor that their terrorists may be other people's freedom fighters.

TABLE I

Israeli Arms Transfers to Latin America 1970-1980

COUNTRY		ARMS DELIVERIES
Argentina	26	Dassault Mirage-5 Fighters*
	22	Nesher Eagle Fighters
	50	Gabriel Missiles
		Shafrir Missiles
Bolivia	6	Arava (STOL) Transports
Chile	150	Shafrir Missiles
	1	Radar System
	2	Reshef Class Fast Patrol Boats
Colombia	3	Arava (STOL) Transports
Dominican Republic		9-mm Uzi Submachine Guns
Ecuador	10	Arava (STOL) Transports
		Ammunition
		Rockets
		Explosives
El Salvador	17	Arava (STOL) Transports
	6	Fouga Magister Trainers*
	18	Dassault Ouragan Fighters*
	200	80-mm Rocket Launchers
	200	9-mm Uzi Submachine Guns
		Ammunition
Guatemala		Spare Parts
	11	Arava (STOL) Transports
	10	RBY Mk Armored Cars
	15,000	5.56-mm Galil Assault Rifles
	4	Field Kitchens

*Indicates rebuilt planes from the Israeli Air Force.

*This table originally appeared in
NACLA Report, Jan/Feb 1982*

TABLE I

(Continued)

COUNTRY	ARMS DELIVERIES	
Haiti	600	9-mm Uzi Submachine Guns 106-mm Rifles
Honduras	12	Dassault Super Mystere Fighters*
	4	Arava (STOL) Transports
	1	Westwind Reconnaissance Plane
		106-mm Mortars
	14	RBY Mk Armored Cars
		106-mm Rifles
	5	Fast Patrol Boats (unconfirmed)
Mexico	10	Arava (STOL) Transports
Nicaragua	2	Arava (STOL) Transports
		Rifles
		Ammunitions
		Patrol Boats
		Radios
Panama	1	Westwind Reconnaissance Plane
Paraguay	6	Arava (STOL) Transports
Peru		Parachutes
		Radio Equipment
		Ammunition
		Small Arms
Venezuela		Bombs
		Rockets
		Tactical Communications Equipment

*Indicates rebuilt planes from the Israeli Air Force.

Sources: DMS Market Intelligence, *Foreign Military Markets: South America-Australasia*, 1981, p. 9; various issues of *The Weekly Report on Strategic Latin American Affairs*; and *World Armaments and Disarmament—SIPRI Yearbooks 1969/70 and 1971-1981*.

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